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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

Conference on Government.—Where are we heading in unemployment relief? How can we control local public debt of the future? What's next for metropolitan areas? These and many other problems, including public management, will come before the League's forty-third annual conference on government November 18th, 19th, and 20th, at the Hotel Seneca, Rochester, New York.

* * *

New York State Committee.—The League's New York State Committee, of which Professor Rodney L. Mott is chairman and George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, will hold its state conference on legislation at the time of the League's annual meeting in Rochester, New York, November 18th to 20th. A preliminary meeting, however, was held at Cornell University, Ithaca, on September 1st and 2nd, to help arrange the agenda for the Rochester conference. The work undertaken at the preliminary meeting included (1) the drafting of a preliminary legislative program to be presented at the Rochester conference, (2) the consideration of a constitutional program, and (3) reports on the work which has been done by the special committees on election laws and the state constitution.

* * *

League's Special Committee on New York State Constitutional Convention.—The New York State Committee of the League has recently organized a special committee on the New York State Constitution with S. Howard Evans of the Payne Fund, New York, as chairman and administrative officer. The special committee represents a majority of the colleges, universities, and normal schools throughout the state and a large number of citizens' organizations, including the New York State Division of the American Association of University Women, New York Department of the American Legion, New York Association of Towns, Business and Professional Women's Clubs of New York State, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Jewish Welfare Board, New York State Association of Elementary School Principals, New York State League of Women Voters, New York State School Boards Association, New York State Teachers' Association, and Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations of New York State. The committee is planning to conduct a state-wide educational campaign to acquaint large numbers of citizens with the problems of the constitutional convention.

* * *

Baldwin Prize Essay Committee.—Hon. Murray Seasongood, formerly mayor of Cincinnati and a former president of the league; Professor Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Alabama and head of that university's department of political science; and Howard G. Fishack, executive secretary of the New Jersey Citizens' Advisory Finance Committee, now on leave of absence to direct the research work of the Special 1937 Commission on Taxation and Public Expenditures of the State of Massachusetts recently created by the Massachusetts legislature, have accepted membership on the committee to select the winner of the Baldwin essay contest. This prize, of one hundred dollars, is awarded once a year to the student submitting the best paper on a topic dealing with local government. Announcement of the prize winner is expected to be made within the next two months.

* * *

Former Congressman Hull Dead.—We regret to announce the death, on August 20th, of Hon. Morton Denison Hull of Chicago, for many years a member of the National Municipal League and formerly one of its vice-presidents. Through Mr. Hull's generosity the League some years ago was able to offer a prize of \$250, to be known as the Morton Denison Hull Prize, for the best essay on municipal government submitted by a post-graduate student of any college or university in this country offering instruction in municipal government. Mr. Hull was always much interested in politics and civic affairs in his city and state. He was a member of both the lower house and the senate in Illinois prior to his election to Congress in 1923, where he served for ten years.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

WPA Down, Local Budgets Up

THE budget for parks in New York City shows an increase this year of approximately \$3,500,000, due largely to the withdrawal of relief workers from park operation and maintenance. This fact is representative of a serious problem that will be faced by municipalities generally as federal relief assistance is withdrawn.

During the last few years, work relief and WPA operations have in many localities taken over some of the functions normally performed by regular departments of municipal government. No criticism of this policy is implied; important functions of local government in many instances would have suffered even more serious curtailment during the depression than has been the case were it not for their adaptability for work relief. Furthermore, when WPA took over a large slice of essential maintenance activity in one department or another, regular municipal funds went just that much farther in another direction.

This development was, of course, not intended by federal authorities; it could hardly be said to have been a policy of the national government; yet, practically speaking, that was what has happened, to what extent we do not know. It will reveal itself in budget

increases as federal aid is withdrawn. The picture is further complicated by the fact that many WPA projects have added substantial improvements to communities. For this there should be only rejoicing. At the same time, neither citizens nor officials should overlook the fact that such projects require maintenance and that another item of expense is thus added to the municipal budget.

There is little doubt that there lies ahead in municipal finance another period of difficult readjustment. A real ray of cheer, however, exists in the general improvement of business and the consequent decrease in unemployment. The federal employment service reports a substantial and continuing decline in the number of registered unemployed. Since the necessity for unemployment relief has been the primary cause of curtailment in municipal operations in other departments than public welfare, it may be hoped that expenditures for public welfare will decrease as expenditures in other departments increase. For this to be brought about even approximately, however, will require a high degree of knowledge, understanding, and coöperation on the part of municipal, state, and federal officials as well as citizens and taxpayers.

Close The Barn Door Now!

ONE of the most interesting developments on the frontier of government that has taken place in recent years is the establishment of what has come to be popularly referred to as "Incodel"—more precisely, the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, official agency of the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, established to deal with regional problems of the Delaware River basin, such as flood control, municipal water supply, pollution from sewage and industrial waste, erosion, and the collateral question of unifying plans for highway systems, recreational areas, etc. The first objective of the commission has been the abatement and control of water pollution.

This commission, composed of seven-teen members representing the legislatures and the administrative departments of the four states, is an official agency whose field of operation transcends state lines. Set up to deal with those problems of the Delaware River basin which lie within the powers reserved to the state by the federal constitution but which are regional in their character, and to harmonize the exercise of these powers with the powers of the federal government, the commission is tackling a pioneer job of no mean importance.

The Council of State Governments encouraged by the National Resources Committee deserves credit for sponsoring the plan in the first instance and demonstrating how effective such an agency could be, prior to the time when legislative appropriations were made available.

Appropriations totaling \$30,000 from the four states are now at the command of the commission and it is on its way to demonstrate its ability to function effectively in carrying forward the pur-

poses for which it was created. The future of this commission assumes an importance, however, beyond the problems of the Delaware River basin. It will provide a test as to whether or not interstate agencies of this character can develop unified plans for an undertaking involving a region covering several states and secure the coöperation of the states in putting the plans into effect.

If it succeeds, it may furnish an example to be copied by the states of other sections in dealing with problems of interstate character and if it fails it will strengthen the argument of those who favor greater centralization of power in the federal government in Washington. If the interstate commission on the Delaware River basin is to achieve success, the representatives of the various states making up the commission must place the interest of the region as a whole above the interests of any particular state. They must base their plans and recommendations to the several states upon accurate, factual data and upon the best technical advice and expert opinion that can be secured, and must conduct operations of the commission in such a way as to insure the continuing confidence of the several state governments and their citizens.

Of major importance in insuring that the public interest of the region will take precedence, that plans and recommendations will be based upon sound technical knowledge, and that confidence in the work of the commission will be maintained, is the system which the commission follows in making staff appointments. If the evil hand of the spoils system reaches in and corrupts efficient performance, an enterprise of great potential achievement is doomed.

A moment's consideration will reveal the possibilities of the situation. If the

(Continued on Page 456)

Letters From Men in Action

Voters administer a death blow to Philadelphia's "career politicians"

J. T. SALTER

University of Wisconsin

THE career politicians in Philadelphia until the last election had unswervingly believed in God and the Republican party, but at the last election, and for the first time in the history of the Republican party in Philadelphia, every single one of its candidates for Congress was defeated, and its standard bearer in the presidential contest lost by more than 200,000 votes. Now who knows what to believe? Their sense of dismay and anger could not be greater if some gargantuan Roosevelt had visibly stood at each polling place indefatigably pulling the Democratic lever on each voting machine until the Democratic majorities were everywhere triumphant.

To give a more concrete idea about the way the Philadelphian, and more particularly the Philadelphia ward politician, feels about this last election, I shall quote a few of the revealing letters that came to me after the deluge. The first is from "Famous" Fogarty, a most likable bruiser, who, on November 3rd, was involuntarily detained in the "Big House," but whose letters prove that "stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

"Still another reason for wishing to give you the low down as far as I am concerned, is that by the time you get this letter the folks over the nation will be marching on the polls to cast their vote, and as I sit here thinking

about all the fun I am going to miss, well it grieves me to think of all the fun I am going to miss on next Tuesday, and what a Fight it is going to be getting those folks out, some will have to be paid and some will not, others might have to get hit on the nose, and still others will not, I can just sit here on Tuesday next and say well they are at it, Boy and the money that will be flying around, and when Sevan (7) O'Clock arrives and the polls are suppose to be closed, trying to squeeze some more in the polling place, and the side that thinks they are in the lead trying to keep them out, and the side that feels as though they might need a few more to pull the old Fight out of the fire, well who can say that a feeling like that does not tear at the heart strings, what a play that game is, then when the Day is done, and you can get a few of the other sides Girls and go drink some good Beer and tell the doings of the Day till well into the Wee Hours of the next Wednesday, there is realley no Ill feelings about politics when one stops to think of it, and after all Professor who is hurt by a little Fighting here and there, I believe always in the saying that to the victor belongs the spoils, Monday night going to the Ward headquarters and the Committeemen getting their money, and any last minute orders what to do, then waiting on the firing line for the day to start

and like every other battle, the loser saying well if I had done this or that thing it might have been different."

His next letter, November 8th, gives this paragraph that is packed full of wisdom.

"Take the 36th Ward a Mug like me goes up to the door and says, Well John what are you going to do today, he says why you big stiff what did the Republicans do for me all these Years, I come back and say what has the Democrats done for you, and I don't know John is on relief, he says this you big bum, and flash a relief check, says it is small, it is better than the Two, Three or evan Five that the Republicans give him on Election Day, and more so with a Ward leader as supposedly rich as Eddie Prince is, and with no one to take you to him to talk to, then said John turns on his Radio and hears Roosevelt on the Air, then if he is Lucky goes to the Movies, and flash Roosevelts face is on the screen and who human could turn him down, Yes Professor it is the human touch that did it, and the dislike for the leadership of Eddie Prince and that golden personality of Jim Rollins who is the Democrat boss of the 36th. Ward, Jim was one of my Lawyers in my trial, and I know the man as good as any one down town, and I mean he can win Votes, as he beat a real old Organa-tion man in Billy Wilson, who was Director of Public Safety under former Mayor Smith."

The fact that "Famous" is in stir just now enables him to view political matters with an objectivity denied to those on the firing line—men like Handsome Dave Nelson, a colored division leader. Here follows his account of the fatal day. (His letter was written in ink and each letter is a capital and a period follows each word.)

"YOUR. LETTER. RECEIVED.

AND. I. AM. SORRY. TO SAY. THAT. I. LOST. BY. 3 VOTES FIRST. TIME. IN 20 YEARS. MY FRIENDS. DOUBLE CROSSED ME. THEY. TAKEN. MY. MONEY. AND. VOTED. THE OTHER. WAY. THAT WAS. DONE. ALL THROUGH THE CITY. IN THE. REGISTRATION. I. WAS. LEADING BY. 200. VOTES. A GOOD. MANY. OF. THE VOTERS REGISTERED. THAT WAY TO. FOOL. ME. WE LOST THE WARD. BY 5000 MAJORITY. I. DITINT. DO BAD. CONSIDERING WHAT. HAPPENED. ALL AROUND ME. MOST OF THE DIVISIONS. WAS. LOST. BY. 150. TO 300. VOTES. BUT. I AM STILL A. REPUBLICAN. MR. SALTER. I WISH. YOU WOULD. PLEASE. SEND ME. ONE OF. THE BOOKS. I REMAIN. Yours P. S. HOPE YOU ARE ENJOYING THE. BEST. OF. HEALTH"

A SLIGHT EXAGGERATION

Tom Cole's letter that comes next is from a division leader who for nearly a half century had served Vare and (presumably) the Lord. However, Vare's check-ups came as regularly as the elections, and he would not take excuses. The Lord is more tolerant of weakness and Mr. Cole has at least one weakness. In factual matters he sometimes deals in imaginary facts. For instance in the last election, he lost his division by more than two hundred votes, but note what he says below.

"Friend your letter received was much pleased to here from you. I ask your friend Jim Terral about you very often in reference of my experience in the last election I found that past favors was for-gotten in many cases. As when people can get something for nothing then they forget all you have did for them. The Roosevelt Administration by using Relief and P. W. A. for Political success they have ruined the

high standard of the Nation. I was very much surprised in the defeat of Gov. Landon as I thought 70 percent of the People of this Country did believe in God and Constitution of U. S. A. but according to the vote they do not. Humanity is weak when tempted if you can get money without working for it 90 percent will take it that way. But it is only history repeating it as you read in the Holy Bible in the 2nd Book of Kings you will read how the People and the Church Hebrews left God for Sin Self and something for nothing. But they paid the price of Sin at that time the wages of Sin is Death. And when God called Elize to challenge the Gods of Baal, they lost all, and if this nation does not return unto God we will pay the price of Sin also and coming back to my experience last election I was surprised how people could be so ungrateful to one who had served them for 40 years. Lots of my voters forgot all I ever did for them. I only came through with eleven votes to the good very small vote to win by. But my Judgement of the results of the past election is the Nation is turning from God and Brotherhood of man Hopeing you and all Professors of Colleges will teach Gods Will Honesty and good will to all men unto your students in closing wishing you success and God's blessing and good luck

from Friend"

COUNTY DETECTIVE AND WARD MAN

The next letter is from a particularly fine young American-born Italian, whom I have named Tony Nicollo. (His sketch first appeared in the *Yale Review*, and he told me after having read it there, that his wife liked that name better than his own.) He is a detective for the county, and a detail man for the ward leader, as well as a successful leader of a division.

"I am writing you now because it's

all over and really I want you to believe me, I did not have a chance to write you sooner, as I was very busy and was on the go all the time, hardly getting time to eat.

"Of course you know what happened, the entire Ward went democratic, so did the district and so did the City. Now to give you a picture of my own division. Starting in August it was very evident that we were going to have a hard time to put the division over, so I at that early date called a meeting of all my job holders, and active workers, at my house, and I talked to them and tried to impress them as to the importance of this election. Well the general feeling at that time was that Tony Nicollo could not lose. So after some good hard work, the Registration came along, and those three days were as hard as any election day in the past, but we came across in the 3 days with 627 Republicans and 228 Democrats, while most divisions all around us were losing even in Registration. This large majority in Registration looked so big to the people in our division that I was being called the Mussolini of the Division. Everybody wondered how I could roll up this registration in this section of the City, and therefore my name was being mentioned all over our Ward by Democrats and Republicans both. Special efforts were being made in my division, speeches made every night on some corner in my division, W. P. A. jobs were being given out by the score, and then to top everything the Labor Unions take their stand for Roosevelt and they and they alone licked me in my division, because they sent for every tailor, operator—women in the Union shops and told them not to go vote unless some one from the Union came for them and if not they would lose their jobs, naturally a great fear came over these poor unfortunate people, who knew no better,

so went along regardless of what I would assure them and voted the straight Democratic Ticket. I knew before the day arrived that there was a chance of me losing and when everybody else was saying that it was impossible I told them all they would be surprised. . . . When the Machines were opened the vote showed 409 Democrats and 358 Republicans, losing the division by 51 votes. But it was the best showing in the entire Ward, because everybody else lost by 3 to 400 and some 5 to 600 votes, but of course I did not know this until later that evening. But I just took it with a smile, congratulated the winners, who were stunned and could not believe what had happened. The people outside by the hundreds got the news, and many started to cry and the general talk was its a shame for Tony, he did not deserve this, we didn't care if Roosevelt would win, but we wanted Tony to carry his division. . . . So your Tony Nicollo was toppled and your fine thoughts of me, blown out of the window. I just want to add this one little favor done by me for one of my voters, and then I will close.

THE COMMITTEEMAN TO THE RESCUE

"On Wednesday evening October 28 I came home after a busy day about 6 P. M. and at my home were two small girls one about 13 years and the other about 15 years old, they were in tears, and my wife soon as I got in said, Tony, they want to know if you will give their mother blood as she is in the hospital, and in need of an operation, so I did not eat but went right out to the hospital, and after the pricking of my finger, the blood was the right type, so they took the blood from my arm. This woman is living now up to this writing. This was a new experience for me and I was sick for a few days, and a new experience for a committeeman. I won-

der what a Committeeman will have to do next."

A few weeks later I received another letter from Tony which ended with the paragraph that I am quoting:

"Before closing I want to say that things are getting tough here in Philly as far as Politics go, because favors are getting harder to do, due of coarse to the very active organization of the Democrats, and the reason of a good many of them having jobs now that were under Republican control. They have a good number of magistrates who serve their Committeemen just like ours did, in fact better, some of our fellows are too old and independent and won't do anything while the young men on the other side will stop at nothing so you can see what we are up against. Well until a later date, when I will write you again, I am very respectfully . . . I have a letter from the Big House so I am enclosing it."

The letter from the Philadelphia County Prison to which he refers follows:

"Dear Tony:

"I am writing this letter to ask of you a favor. You know Tony you have known me for quite a few years, and you also knowing my father, he has always voted in your district and helped you out when ever he could. I have never troubled you before in any way, but my father at the present time is in poor health and he needs me at home.

"I have been here now 21 months out of a 2 year sentence, leaving me with only three months to do. If you recall I got in trouble with that bum and was sent here because I refused to marry her. So I am going to ask you to intercede with Judge ——— in my behalf to secure my parole at this time. Tony the reason I am asking this of you for this reason, I know your position at the hall, and it will not incon-

venience you in any way, and I also know that with your assistance and support it will be easy for me. I have not committed any criminal offense, and this is my first conviction, which should make it very easy for you to make the Judge see that as long as I will have 13 years parole to do that these 3 months would not make any difference. And in view of the type of girl they wanted me to marry, I have been sufficiently punished. . . .

"Will be looking forward to your favorable reply, so I will close hoping you and your family enjoy a Merry Xmas and a Happy New Year, I am

Picco Tonetti,

P.S. Willie told me to send you his regards."

THE FEMININE TOUCH

Rosie Popovits, although not yet forty, according to the calendar, is already a veteran in ward politics with an unerring eye for details and trifles whose cumulative weight always—save in 1936—bring success at the ballot box. A few years ago her rivals argued that a woman's place is the home but Rosie said, "Brother, I am staying at City Hall same as you would like to be. My people need me, but when did you ever carry a division?" Rosie's ward leader says that she is the best man on the ward committee. Her letter follows:

"Regret that I have not already answered the letter received from you, but have extremely busy and DISGUSTED with outcome of ELECTION, hence the delay.

"For the first time in the history of our Division we have lost by 2 to 1. The reason was that the Roosevelt sentiment was so strong, and the fear of loss of their Welfare orders being taken away from them, caused the poor people, in our immediate neighborhood, where there are many poor—*also many chiselers*, to fall into the Roosevelt Camp.

"As you know ——— got to be elected Congressman and he also done everything he could to place jobs in my division in order to break the morale down, more so in my division than anywhere else—because of the fact that it was a stronghold division. The people's alibi was that this campaign would not have meant anything to me because it was Presidential election. They did not stop to realize the seriousness of this campaign—that it meant more to me at the present time than at any other time, on account of my position with the Court and the Courts being supported by the legislators—all of which we have lost, and it may ultimately mean the loss of my job. After plugging for so many years, and helping to assist in sending my children through school, and with my son graduating from high school this June (and you know what that means), I still hope and have enough confidence in the Republication Organization and Republicanism all over United States, that good American people who have truth in their hearts—will COME BACK.

"My opinion is that any American citizen, who is a true citizen should be nothing but a Republican, as I have observed from my experience, and during my years as a Republican, they have done much more and have been more true to their people than the New Deal Party who are in power at the present time."

The next letter was written by one who is an honor man from a great university, a successful lawyer, a job holder, and a leader in what approaches the status of a silk stocking district.

"I know I owe you an explanation for not having written during the fall. However, the situation was such that I was almost afraid to write for fear that you would consider me a pessimist.

You will remember that before the last municipal election I predicted a Democratic victory. At that time people were in somewhat the same frame of mind, but the religious issue proved stronger than all the other issues and Kelly was defeated. However, this fall, there was no such issue. In addition we had the tremendous personal popularity of the President to contend with. I could see early in the campaign what was coming, but I certainly did not expect the majority to go as high as it did. I thought it would be the Democrats by twenty-five to fifty thousand tops. I hesitated to write about this for fear that you would consider that I was nothing but a poor guesser since this would have been the second wrong guess (if Landon had been elected). . . .

AN APPEAL TO THE INTELLIGENT

"With regard to the circulation of hand bills or circulars, I might say that the literature that was used in our ward, especially in our section, dealt chiefly with the increase in price of food, and to combat the particularly strong feeling in our district much literature was used in connection with breaking down the prejudice of our people against the Republican candidate by reason of his strong endorsement by Hearst. The people of our group are distinctly intelligent and they turned almost to a man against the Republican policy of ridiculing Roosevelt by holding up as Communists such advisers as Frankfurter, Hillman, etc. This policy of the party was aimed to get votes in certain backwoods sections of the country where the prejudice against us could be fanned into votes for Landon by reason of the so-called advisers of the President being members of our group. The result was such an overwhelming repudiation of the Republican party in our section

that I have never seen the like of it, and hope never to see it again. In a normal Republican district of 9,000 votes Landon was able to get only 1300, a little over 7700 going to Roosevelt. I might say that as soon as I sensed the sentiment I considered it advisable to go easy in my efforts to push the candidacy of Landon and concentrated on the local ticket. In this I was successful to a degree, having a difference of nearly 500 votes in favor of the local candidates over the head of the ticket. Nevertheless I was not able to carry them because people were still afraid to split their vote on the machine. (There were 1409 registered voters in my division)."

The next letter is from Jim Terral. Jim graduated from a second rate university without ever permitting that experience to change his standard of moral values. A few years ago he was arrested for ballot-box stuffing. He remarked to me, "It's funny that the first time my picture appeared on the front page of a Philadelphia paper, I am under arrest, but," he added, "the 'judge' said he would get me out." And he did. Jim is wiry and quick like a fox terrier. He is prepared to do what it takes to win, but in this election he found that the party of Roosevelt held every trump card.

"For weeks I have been trying to arouse myself into a proper writing mood. For no reason I do not relish re-living and re-exciting myself in the depicting of what I have experienced these last months.

"As the Campaign was getting under way, I was planning my retirement, in the near future, from the political sphere. Enraged by the continual turmoil, by the incessant demands of my time, by the ungratefulness of those whom I have served and who never appeared satisfied, I yearned and planned

for peace and quiet. I say this was my feeling as the Campaign was getting started. But this proved to be only a 'let-down' to a politician in the real meaning of the word. I look upon politics as the greatest of all human endeavors, for it combines every phase of man's activity; war, school, discipline, admiration, colorfulness, etc. When one takes in this meaning of the game, he resolves to look eagerly forward to an election and stomach incidents whether pleasing or not.

"My 'slumber' ended when I was privileged to sit on the same platform with Al Smith when the Happy Warrior spoke at the Metropolitan Opera House here in Phila. So thrilled was I listening to this orator, so intensely did I watch his gesticulations and mannerisms, and so throbbed was I over the excitement and glamour of the crowds, that I felt I was ready to go on the same stump and speak extemporaneously. A few weeks later, again on the same stage I sat, to be referred to as one of the 'distinguished guests' by the peer of pure English orators—Bainbridge Colby. But it was solely to Al Smith's stimulus that I became ready for the hectic battle in which I adopted Al's own thunderings of his delivery.

"Our division and ward went like the rest of the city, state, and nation. We on the waterfront, with its full population of the foreign-born element, had the severest battle, for we had absolutely nothing to sell and had to fight the 'black-jacking' of voters by labor unions. Even those points which you stress in your 'Boss Rule'—favors, services, obligations, etc., meant nothing. The Debacle just washed away your Tony Nicolos, Handsome Daves, Rosie Popovitzs, etc. One might even be tempted to say, 'Burn up that book; it means absolutely nothing today.' I for one am on a raging, raving, ranting spell. When I think of how I got my

father to go bail free for those in trouble, of how I worried nights planning to set the works favorably on the next morning's hearings, of how I spent money liberally, I just can't help cursing in the foulest language at the ingratitude of these people.

"I got licked for the first time in ten years. Money was no question—I had plenty and I was even prepared to spend hundreds of my own in order to keep my record unbeaten. But this was one election in which money was no aid. In fact I had plenty left over from headquarters and didn't even touch one penny of my own. Most in our division regarded their vote for Roosevelt as a sacred thing. In a calmer light, I have no quarrel with these. But I should have gotten over a hundred split tickets instead of only 36, especially when my own office, The Auditor-General, was on the ticket. So determined were the people, that some of those whom I thought were very obligated to me wouldn't even *look* at me as they came into the polls! You didn't need any door-bell ringers, for the voters came out early in droves. This fact, alone, is usually a bad sign to the politician. When you have to pull 'em out, you can feel sure of favorable results.

EVEN MONEY FAILED TO PERSUADE

"I can't understand why my colored voters couldn't be bought, omit the favors they have received. Understand, to get the money, they would have to ask for my aid in the voting machine. Why they were scared in asking this assistance is beyond me. Of course, I know they received letters through the mail warning them this is a federal election and the federal jails were jawning for them on any violations of this assistance law. But still more surprising was they knew where the *second* (Democratic) lever was, and *pulled that one*. I suppose the reason is, as Al Smith

once said, 'no one shoots Santa Claus.' They believed they were protecting their relief and W. P. A. jobs.

"I'll be out of public office soon. But more firmly have I resolved to stay in politics. I enjoyed the bitter fight, even though I am 'mad' at the treatment I received from my people. I would be of no aid to the Democratic Party if I switched immediately, for people would lose respect for the quick turncoat. Rather, I'll be a strong minority man and keep a constant watch on the majority. The Democratic Party did not need committeemen in this last election—they only needed honest watchers to prevent our stealing.

"I could go on and discuss how I didn't like the way in which the campaign was conducted. It seemed to me to be based on solely fooling the people, especially those circulars on social security which, on first glance, appeared to be issued by Washington, D. C. I'll just close by saying that some of the men who were swept into office on the Roosevelt wave are a disgrace to democratic government. Able men were beaten by bootblacks, shysters, etc., some of whom can't read or write and some of whom can't speak English without an interpreter!"

One politician whose rank exceeds that of some ward leaders knows that I am interested in concrete details. His letter supports the tenor of those letters that I have quoted, and in addition he adds, "In so far as the money is concerned, each division in my district received \$200. The City Committee contributed \$100 and the ward leader, or his 'angel' put up the balance. In addition, each division had a fund which was made up of contributions from the Committeemen [i.e., division leaders] and in rare instances from 'active' workers. Each division in wards of my district had not less than \$400

of Republican money. The question now is, what was done with the cash. The vote shows that not all of it was spent."

The foregoing letters indicate much about the feelings and attitudes of the Republican men and women in Philadelphia politics who meet the voters face to face throughout the year and capture the majorities on election day. They have invariably done this in the past, but now they are wondering if they will ever do it again. They are the sales force of the Republican party in one restricted area, and they are beginning to wonder if they are trying to market a white elephant. They would also like to know if their product can be improved enough so that it will satisfy the public's taste, or would it be better to devote their time, energy, and friends to selling a more popular brand. They find that they were defeated by a force over which they were powerless to contend. They have always said that the people have the votes. Now they know it.

They can't quite see yet, but they will see in time, that the change has been in their opposition and in the fundamental conditions of life under which people live and satisfy their needs rather than in mere individuals acting independently of the times. In the old days Tony could always carry his division against X, the Democrat, because the people liked Tony and did not know X. Now this Democratic opponent X is not only someone that they think they know and see and feel, but he is someone that means something substantial and concrete. And he means it here and now. To the unemployed he means steady work and regular pay; to the destitute he means relief; to labor he means shorter hours and more pay; to people generally he means improved business conditions. The people are

(Continued on Page 456)

Toledo Forges Ahead Under the Manager Plan

Proposal to substitute twenty-one-man council selected by wards would emasculate present model form; goes to vote September 21st

HOWARD P. JONES

Secretary, National Municipal League

IF YOU lived in a city where

(1) you were enjoying the lowest property tax in sixteen years yet

(2) the city was living within its income and at the same time

(3) was retiring large amounts of outstanding debt while nevertheless

(4) municipal services were being continually expanded and improved, wouldn't you be fairly well satisfied with the way things were being run?

There is such a city—it is Toledo, Ohio, where despite its brilliant record the city manager plan seems subject to repeated attacks. The present manager charter was adopted in November 1934 with a vote of 33,229 for and 28,014 against. One move to repeal it, presented to the voters before the new charter went into effect on January 1, 1936, was rejected emphatically by 27,627 to 18,338. And now comes another repealer, slightly masked, in the form of a charter amendment which would substitute a twenty-one-man council selected by wards for the present nine-man council chosen by proportional representation. Toledo will vote on this proposition at a special election September 21st.

Even a cursory survey of the situation in Toledo reveals the tremendous strides that have been made under the new form of government. When City Manager John Edy took office January 1, 1936, he found a city saddled with a

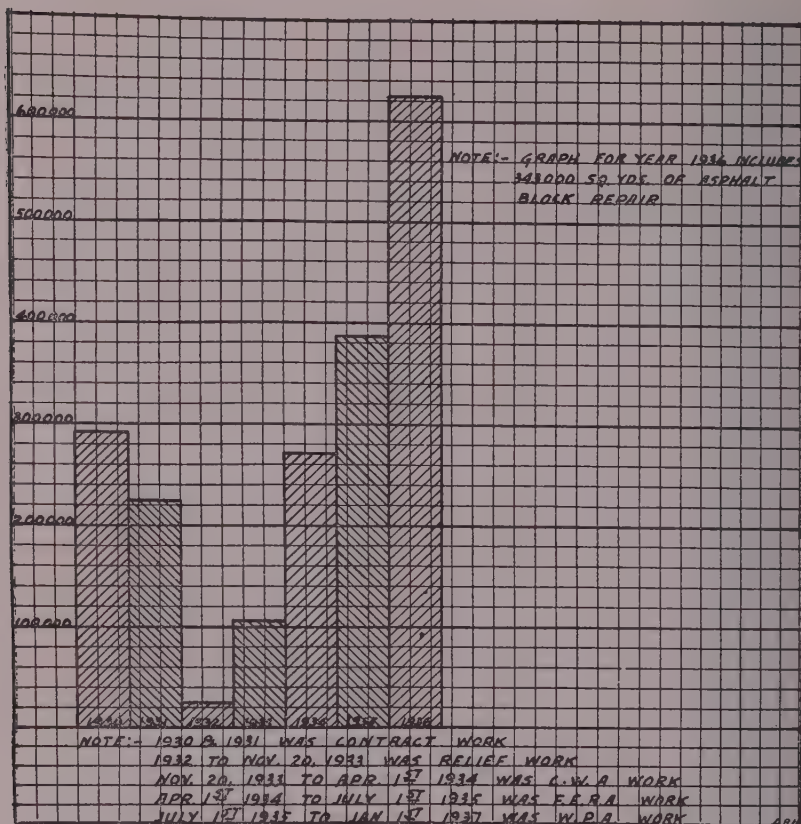
huge burden of debt in a financial crisis that threatened to reach the default stage at any moment. The politicians running the city apparently were unwilling or unable to make the necessary adjustments in the direction of efficiency and economy and plan a fiscal program that would bring order out of chaos. In desperation, citizens turned to the remedy that had long been suggested by leading civic groups in Toledo—the city manager plan.

Today Toledo has a tax rate of \$20 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation—lowest in sixteen years and the lowest of six of Ohio's large cities. Today Toledo pays cash and operates within its income. Today Toledo municipal bonds sell *at the lowest rate in the city's history* and the net bonded indebtedness was reduced by more than \$2,000,000 in the first year of manager government. Today Toledo's street division owns its own trucks instead of renting them, thus saving enough money in the last four months of 1936 to restore basic salaries for all street employees. Today *more* work is being accomplished and *more* services are being rendered the people of Toledo for the money spent.

In 1936, 600,000 square yards of paving were laid as compared with 300,000 in 1935; 41,043 square yards of brick pavement were repaired in 1936 as compared with 11,948 square yards in 1935; 53,226 square yards of bitumin-

TOLEDO, OHIO

Comparative Amounts of Paving in Square Yards Laid or Relaid from January 1, 1930,
to January 1, 1937



ous paving were repaired in 1936 as compared with 34,138 square yards in 1935; three times as many lineal feet of curb were repaired, three hundred more miles of streets were graded, and more than three thousand feet of ditches (uncleaned in 1935) were cleaned in 1936—yet costs were slashed \$77,000.

That much of the new construction work was done in coöperation with WPA does not alter the important fact that sound city management found the money to finance the city's share and responsive public policy made it available for the purpose.

The unbusiness-like custom of repairing obsolete, worn-out equipment was halted. The health department was reorganized and improved and important steps were taken to better protect the community from plagues and epidemics. Extensive improvements in the water system were begun.

MERIT SYSTEM INTRODUCED

When City Manager Edy went to Toledo, with a fine record of accomplishment in other cities, he adopted a sound and just personnel program for all city employees, removed political interference from the operation of all de-

partments of the city government including the police and fire division, and declined to pass out the usual political plums. For example, he appointed the technically trained manager of the filtration plant as commissioner of water, chose an experienced man from the city engineering department for commissioner of streets, named a bridge engineer as commissioner of bridges, picked one of Ohio's foremost tax authorities for director of law, and, for director of public service, appointed a career man trained for the work by twenty-five years in responsible positions. He secured a highly qualified purchasing agent by competitive examination.

Instead of following the custom of naming a citizen mostly trained in politics to the post of safety director, he left these vital duties in the hands of chiefs who knew their jobs, appointing no "director" at all.

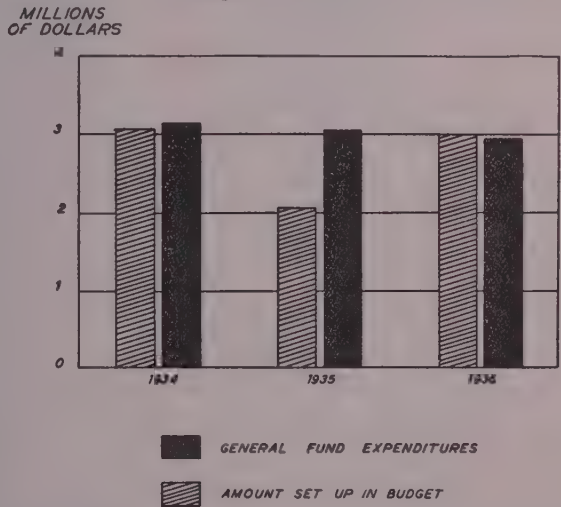
While those who have been accustomed to seeing political acumen rewarded by fat jobs like these weren't exactly pleased, to put it mildly, the employees in the classified service are no longer afraid of their jobs. City Manager Edy has not fired a single one of them who did his work properly and observed charter regulations.

The example of splendid coöperation set by the small, efficient council chosen by proportional representation should, an impartial observer would assume, stay the hands of those who would destroy what has been accomplished in the short time the plan has been in operation. The lack of prejudice and special interest is amply demonstrated

by the fact that, with the exception of a mere handful, ordinances proposed had the unanimous support of the council. That the council trusted the administrative arm of the government is shown by the passage of every important piece of legislation requested by that branch.

The P. R. council has functioned as a body rather than as a group of representatives of separate interests. It has served all the people of the city, hearing all persons who had matters to present

TOLEDO, OHIO
Comparison of General Fund Expenditures With General Fund Budgets 1934 to 1936



for consideration. Its meetings have been open and above the table—so open, in fact, that citizens frequently sit around the committee table and in the presence of the press talk out their problems.

Both the council and the manager have won the confidence of leaders of organized labor.

Why then the movement for change? Who is behind it?

Both questions seem to be difficult to answer. The movement has as its nominal leader Mrs. Josephine Guitteau,

(Continued on Page 459)

A Municipal Auditor-General

A new method of financial control for local governments as adopted in Detroit

LENT D. UPSON

Director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

BY WAY OF PREFACE: This not unusual story of the stealing of public funds is of interest as an object lesson in what happens when the several fiscal branches of a government become intimate. The recital of the experimental measures taken to prevent a recurrence may be of value as pointing to a new and useful development in municipal government.

DETROIT is accustomed to good city government. Its political history is not a serial with chapter headings of graft, more graft, bosses, ward heelers, political intrigue, turn the rascals out, and abortive reform. In many ways Detroit has progressed farther along the road to a good city government controlled by the people than have most other cities—no political parties, no political machines, a judiciary independent of party control, effective civil service, and many of the other “ideals” which have been urged as the milestones to effective, efficient government.

So, its citizenry was somewhat disturbed when it awoke on one April morning in 1936 to learn that the assistant budget director of the city had shot himself just as the police were seeking to question him concerning a diversion of funds which had come to light a day earlier. Detroit had experienced petty diversions in the past and one or two major ones had occurred with welfare funds during the hectic relief-giving of the depression. But this instance involving the assistant budget

director was the first serious defalcation in a department operating with well established financial controls.

The major portion of the diversion, approximately \$200,000, resulted from the manipulation of an inactive bank account covering a fund for teachers' pensions. The procedure with such funds was to issue no specific checks against them. When the funds were to be disbursed a transfer warrant was issued by the controller and countersigned by the treasurer, authorizing the placement of these moneys in the general fund against which checks were drawn. But in this case the assistant budget director forged the signature of the controller and with the connivance of a bank official cashed checks personally without the signature of the treasurer. This bank official was later tried and convicted of his part in the affair. The diversions were covered up for a time as the assistant budget director personally picked up the bank statements, made the necessary changes, and sent them to the treasurer's office for checking against the book balance.

And there was the usual series of coincidences that made the defalcation possible—the board of education drew no pension moneys so the shortage did not appear; the treasurer, taking office, did not check the amount of cash in the bank as indicated by the controller's

statement; a corrupt bank officer permitted withdrawals in an unorthodox manner; the bank statements should have gone directly to the treasurer rather than to him through a subordinate of the controller. There is no procedural cure for dishonesty, but this particular offense was facilitated by a "family feeling" that had grown up over a period of years between the treasurer's and the controller's offices.

In the Detroit system of financial controls, a controller appointed by the mayor without approval of the council and holding office for only brief periods is of first importance. This official is responsible for several important and really unrelated functions—financial planning, which has been so important in the rapidly growing city of Detroit as to occupy the major attention of all recent controllers; bookkeeping, i.e., recording or supervising the recording of all financial transactions of the city; preparation of the budget; and the audit of revenue collections and disbursements. The treasurer, elected by the people, is technically a custodial officer only, receiving and disbursing funds, including taxes, only upon warrant of the controller.

In view of public indignation reflected in extensive newspaper comment, the city council proposed an independent audit to be accompanied by recommendations for improvement in the city's financial procedure, and in which no agency of government would participate. Accordingly, there was appointed an audit committee of five citizens no one of whom was affiliated with the political side of the city's government. The membership of this committee assured the public that the investigation would be honestly and effectively undertaken and council placed full responsibility for the investigation in its hands.

The committee secured the services of six national accounting firms, each to undertake a check audit of specific departments. They were instructed not only to audit but to make recommendations for bettering the financial procedure. The auditors found other small diversions, all in connection with the handling of petty cash and departmental collections which are admittedly difficult to control. They uniformly reported that the accounting procedure in general lagged behind best commercial practices, a common occurrence among municipalities.

In casting about for a method to prevent a recurrence of such diversions and to give a more secure control of the city's finances, the committee arrived at certain basic conclusions:

1. The treasurer as a custodial officer cannot pass upon the authenticity of financial transactions authorized by the controller without presumably exceeding his authority and creating friction between the two offices.

2. The duties of the controller with respect to financial planning, both current and capital, are so compelling as to force neglect of supervision of the routines of the office.

3. Although the bookkeeping function (with preaudit) is properly allocated to the controller's office, the postaudit of such transactions should be undertaken by an independent authority—otherwise the controller audits himself.

Inquiry among other cities indicated that several devices were employed to secure an audit of financial transactions independently of the bookkeeping and custodial functions, thus providing a three-way check—and that none of the devices had proved entirely satisfactory. Among these were:

1. The election of a city auditor who was also bookkeeper, and who exercised a preaudit over the fiscal transactions of the treasurer and the several departments. This procedure is defective in that it adds an elective position to the ballot, but more important, takes the bookkeeping function from administrative officers who need this aid.

2. The employment of professional independent accountants to conduct periodic audits. This device provides for an audit long after the fact; carries no sanctions by which any accompanying recommendations can be enforced.

3. An audit by a state officer—frequently perfunctory, political, and inimical to home rule.

The federal government utilizes a centralized control of audits in the office of the comptroller-general, which official is appointed for a fifteen-year term, without possibility of reappointment, and who audits all federal financial transactions. Bookkeeping and custodian functions are centralized in the treasury and there is reputedly some duplication of services between this department and the office of the comptroller-general.

The committee believed it possible to set up a somewhat similar plan of financial control which would segregate the functions of custody, bookkeeping, and audit to the improvement of each. This plan was submitted to the council as a charter amendment and by council to the vote of the people. It provided for an auditor-general, appointed by a two-thirds vote of the council for a ten-year term, without the possibility of reappointment. The amendment purposely made it difficult to remove this official making it possible to conduct his office with freedom from political expediency. The duties of the office are:

1. To audit all financial transactions of the city at least annually.

2. To report the results of each departmental audit with copies to the council and the mayor.

3. To make recommendations for improving financial procedures which, if not accepted by the controller and treasurer, must be reported to the mayor and council for action.

4. Upon request of the mayor or council, to make an investigation of any city department—an audit of operations.

5. At least once each five years, to have a financial check audit made by an outside firm of public accounts.

6. To give to the controller all information in his possession to help with the preparation of the budget.

7. Upon request of the board of education, to undertake similar services for that semi-independent unit of government.

The amendment is short, outlining only the essential functions, so as to permit a development of the plan as experience suggests.

The appointment of the auditor-general by the council is in contradiction to the usual method of appointment in Detroit. Under the present charter the mayor, city clerk, and the treasurer are elected, but all other administrative officials are appointed solely by the mayor, or by a board whose members are appointed by the mayor. The council takes no part in appointments, either by charter or by tradition, and it has adopted a strict "hands-off" policy in such matters. All but important administrative officers—the labor group and employees within so-called state functions administered locally—are appointed by a well regulated civil service.

The theory underlying the responsibility of the auditor-general to the council is that auditing is not an administrative but a legislative function. It is council which should at all times check on the thoroughness with which its authorized financial policies have been carried out. The bookkeeping function continues to serve the mayor and his administrative staff in an informative way and as a current check necessary to protect the administration.

The plan for an auditor-general in Detroit is not to create an entirely new office. The staff will be taken from existing auditing services of the city. Thus, the plan does not create a new department of government, but separates functions already existing and accents their importance to council.

The auditor-general is clearly made responsible for adequate accounting, records, and procedures. He is likewise charged with reporting to the council as to legality of expenditures and possible diversions. By implication he must pass on matters of even greater importance than minor peculations—he must say whether the charter, state statutes, and contracts are being honored in the allocation of sinking funds, pension funds, and similar budgetary items. The audit by outside auditors, at least each five years, although not a thorough audit, as this was considered too expensive for a city of Detroit's size, will verify the cash position and check the fund balance sheets which will be forthcoming under the accrual accounting system now being installed.

Some criticism has arisen with respect to the federal comptroller-general because of his assumption of a preauditing function which gives him a control over operating departments. The Detroit amendment is silent on this point—it is assumed that the functions of the auditor-general will be mostly postaudit, but there is nothing to prevent a preaudit if it is thought essential. In any event, preaudit would not be serious to city government contained within a small area.

The only objection made to the plan was that the auditor-general in time would be just another office with the same "family feeling" which permitted

the diversion under discussion. This may be true, but on the other hand, the conditions will not be the same. The auditor-general is responsible for auditing and no other function. If a diversion occurs due to faulty procedure, he alone will be responsible. Also, the auditor-general should be independent of political devices, since he cannot be removed under normal conditions and cannot be reappointed. And finally, the auditor-general is responsible to a council elected each two years. To protect himself, he must make reports on the conditions he discovers with recommendations for correction. If council refuses to act, and diversions do occur, it will be a serious charge against its membership and not a responsibility of the auditor-general.

Whether the plan will correct the difficulties of municipal auditing, and whether it will be as satisfactory as in commercial practice, remains to be seen. It is a new idea in the control of municipal finances, a function which admittedly has not been satisfactorily performed in the past. The essence of the plan has worked in the federal government, and the principle of centralization of responsibility has worked wherever applied.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Dr. Upson, author of this article, was chairman of the Citizens' Committee in charge of the audits mentioned above and was the originator of the suggestion for an auditor-general for Detroit which was finally adopted by the committee.

CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

Outstanding governmental authorities and civic leaders will attend the National Municipal League's forty-third annual conference on government to cope with problems which must be solved if democracy is to prove its case against the various "isms" which are rampant today. Unemployment relief, municipal debt, public management, and other questions will be discussed.

Hotel Seneca, Rochester, New York

November 18th, 19th, and 20th

Reintegrating the Security Wage Earner With His Community

A suggested program of rehabilitation which aims to help not only the unemployed but the whole community

OLIVER C. SHORT
EDWARD F. DOW

Bureau of the Census
University of Maine

THE disintegrating effects of a depression upon our social mores are so well known as to warrant widespread study of causes and results, yet too little analysis has been devoted to the production of solutions to the manifold problems created. Sociologists, welfare workers, and a scattering of others have shown a real concern born of appreciation of the national tragedy involved, but our local government officials have been, let us say, too preoccupied with other matters to give much attention to the task of community reintegration.

We do not pretend that the program to be outlined is strikingly new or revolutionary: we claim only that it has been tried and appears to work.¹ It aims to help the whole community, not merely the unemployed, and depends for its success on an appeal to those old-fashioned homespun virtues of thrift, self-reliance, and community pride which are undermined by unemployment and destroyed by intermittent or unbalanced relief programs.

Stated in its simplest terms, the problem is to help the unemployed re-establish the community ties and contacts of a social and business nature which have been broken by economic distress. The family which, once upon a time, paid its

bills promptly, purchased adequate medical care, and gave reasonable attention to cultural and recreational activities, has become a stranger in its home town with mounting debts and deepening discouragement and self-pity. If it moves to a new community it is no better off, for lack of funds and credit follow like vultures. To those hardened citizens who believe that we have completed our duty when we sustain the breath of life in our unfortunates, who fail to realize that self-interest alone should require a different attitude, our suggestions will not appeal: we venture to submit an outline program in the belief that the prospect of a continuing large-scale relief problem will force increasing attention on the life of the unemployed and his family outside of the work relief project. For our own sake, and for the local and national well-being, as well as for the sake of the relief client, let us help him to lead a normal, well rounded life.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM

Administration. The most logical person to begin the program is the head of the local relief administration, or the director of any important relief project. Sometimes he will be a local official, at other times a state or federal employee. In any case he must first of all explain the objectives of his plan to local au-

¹It was used on the census card index project (St. Louis, 1935-1937), and the census of business (Philadelphia, 1935-1937).

thorities and secure their complete cooperation, which is essential to success. Mayors and city managers would do well to offer their coöperation, or serve as coördinators or liaison officers among the various relief agencies and projects, especially where there are several relief authorities with conflicting or overlapping jurisdictions. A small amount of judicious stimulation and encouragement might start the ball rolling among the local administrators, where they are reluctant to initiate measures or unaware of the possibilities.

Restoring credit. Tradesmen hesitate to do business with former customers who have incurred debts which the proprietor sees no hope of collecting. Of course he will sell, on a cash basis, but even if he displays no rancor, the debtor has a natural reluctance to buy where he has received generous treatment which he cannot reciprocate. Hence he goes out of his way to avoid those whose friendly services provided him with clothing, fuel, food, and other staples, and granted him long-term credit on easy terms, and to whose well-being the debtor has previously contributed. Now when he needs coal or other items involving a considerable cash outlay, he is forced to ask for supplementary relief unless he can save a few dollars from his relief checks soon enough to buy the fuel when needed.

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS A MEDIATOR

Here is where the administrator may offer his services as mediator with a fair prospect of success. The tradesman is more inclined to listen to an official spokesman than to the relief recipient. The administrator should reach a definite understanding with the project workers on all such matters before he agrees to use his good offices, and will refuse to assist a man whose past record shows that he does not keep faith and would not be a good

risk. Let us take up once more the purchase of coal for illustrative purposes. We will assume that a work relief project starts in the autumn, at a time when the majority of workers need to buy coal. They have no funds, therefore cannot pay cash. The administrator first canvasses the situation, contacts reliable dealers in the vicinity, and has the purchasers pledge to make small payments weekly or at pay periods until their fuel bills are paid. If they have unpaid bills, similar arrangements may be made to liquidate the debts. It should of course be admitted that the ability of the worker to keep his head above water and at the same time pay off earlier commitments is dependent on a maintained work relief program at a living wage, or reabsorption in a decent job in private business.

Even under the most favorable conditions, the liquidation of old debts is a long-drawn process. Frequently it will be found that the proprietor of the business is so glad to welcome back his customer on a cash basis that he will grant terms so favorable as to amount to reduction, or even cancellation of the old indebtedness. When the creditors remain unmoved, or bring suit to recover on old debts, the administrator may well advance small loans to worthy employees from a loan or welfare fund established for this and similar purposes.² Mr. A., a business census worker, was sued for debts incurred while he had been on relief. A loan from the welfare fund enabled him to satisfy his creditors; it was liquidated by payments of five dollars to the fund each pay day.

²During the life of the business census project in Philadelphia (September 16, 1935-June 30, 1937) 1878 loans were made to 523 different individuals, the total of these loans amounting to \$5,780.78 with a net loss of only \$39.00. Money for the loan fund of \$326.00 was supplied by the project officials.

Providing shelter. Landlords have suffered greatly from loss of rents, with legal or humane considerations restraining eviction procedures. Many an owner or agent will gladly cancel, scale down, or otherwise arrange easier terms for tenants when properly approached. He may forgive several months of accumulated rent on condition that the tenant move to a location more nearly within his means, or lower the rent for a time on agreement that future bills be paid promptly, one month in advance. An intermediary who is desirous of seeing both parties helped can achieve more than the landlord and tenant with their mutually antagonistic attitudes.

The two following examples show how the census projects helped needy families. Mr. C's furniture had been attached by the constable for \$300 unpaid rent. The landlord was approached and finally agreed that if the tenant would move within thirty days, he would wipe out all existing indebtedness, which would permit the employee to begin again with a clean slate.

Mrs. D. could not pay \$27 necessary to stop foreclosure proceedings on her home. The mortgagor agreed to drop proceedings, after her financial condition was explained and her ability to meet future payments gone into thoroughly. Through this intervention she was able to save her home.

Health services. Medical, dental, and optical services are sorely neglected by the unemployed, even with a large and growing number of free clinics and dispensaries available. Hospitals and doctors have seen their incomes dwindle as unpaid and uncollectable bills piled up in huge numbers. The institutions and professional men who have thus performed a great humanitarian service to the public have nevertheless failed to meet the problem, for there is ample evidence to prove that millions of

Americans have neglected their health because they lacked money to pay for treatment. In so far as ill health is due to improper diet, incorrect lighting, inadequate heat or clothing, it cannot be completely remedied or prevented by medical care and advice, but is due to sub-standard living conditions. Thousands of our unemployed and their families would, however, do their best to keep well and strong if their contacts with their local practitioners could be maintained or re-established. Mother and Dad doubtless know that Mary needs dental work, Johnnie suffers from eye strain, and little Billy has diseased tonsils. Now that Father is working at a security wage and has good prospects of re-entering private work under his former employer, these family needs can be taken care of, provided the local hospital and local practitioners will agree to accept small down payments on moderate fees, and the balance in monthly payments. Mr. B., an employee of the census of business, found that a severe hernia prevented his return to his former trade. Arrangements were made with a local hospital for an operation at a moderate fee. Three months later Mr. B. was able to re-enter private industry.

If the administrator will meet with the medical men and explain the situation it is usually possible to agree on a moderate scale of fees and a standard practice for repayment. An effective approach can be made through the local professional associations. For example, let us interview the head of the local medical association, explain the situation, show the exact income of the workers and the many demands made upon this income, and suggest a business-like working arrangement. Doctors may be somewhat cold at first, fearing that this is "socialized medicine," but when they are shown that it is quite the reverse they will probably endorse the

plan heartily. They can be shown that it restores the patient to his family physician, who knows his medical and family history and who is therefore in the best position to give general medical service at a minimum of expense. Doctors will be found who are glad to forgive old debts, or scale them down, or arrange for small payments, for the sake of restoring their contacts with cash customers. Of course it is not wholly a cold-blooded business proposition—the doctor is a humanitarian: he is only too glad to do more than his share in serving his fellow men if only they show their willingness to cooperate with him to the best of their ability. It is perhaps needless to point out that a friendly intermediary who is at the same time in control of the patient's pay check can from his vantage point secure a cooperation and maintenance of agreements from the workers that an outsider could not achieve. The very fact that someone in authority takes a real human interest in his case is enough to make the average security wage earner live up to his agreements, but there are occasional waverers who need to be controlled, at least until their self-respect and sense of responsibility are restored.

After contact has been established between the relief administrator and the local medical association, it is good practice to use the association as a clearing house from which neighborhood contacts can be made, provided of course the association is agreeable. Then when John Jones desires medical care for a member of his family, he so informs the administrator (or some one delegated to handle this activity), and if Jones is not long established in the community, the medical association is asked to recommend one or more reputable doctors in the Jones neighborhood. If contacts have not already been made with Dr. X., either the medical association official or the administrator explains the

situation and enlists his cooperation. From then on it is up to Jones to carry his share of the burden by meeting his agreements promptly. If Jones has had contacts with a local doctor in whom he has confidence, the procedure is slightly different, for unpaid bills may be involved. Officials of the business census arranged with reputable optomologists and opticians to supply eye examinations and prescriptions for eyeglasses at reduced rates or on deferred payments. Scores of employees were thereby benefited. Like contacts were made with dentists, X-ray specialists, hospitals, and other medical agencies. Adjustments were often secured on medical bills, for example, Mr. E. was hard pressed by a hospital, but a satisfactory arrangement was made whereby the bill was paid in small amounts. Likewise, Mr. F., an employee with many dependents, was unable to pay for the hospitalization of his sister. As a result of a telephone conversation with the hospital, the bill was reduced 50 per cent, and the remainder paid on a budget plan.

EMPLOYMENT FOR SPARE TIME

Education. The use of spare time is a particularly acute problem among relief workers. They work short hours, they suffer from discouragement and unfortunate living conditions, and with little or no money for recreation have no way of escape from the drab monotony of their lives. For those who have a spark of pride and ambition still burning (and they are legion), educational advantages are eagerly seized upon. Courses need not be related to income to be acceptable, for a wide range of cultural, craft, and hobby courses will be useful in reviving old interests and creating new ones that will make life sweeter and more worth living. Vocational courses have their place in a rehabilitation program as an

outlet for the energies of those who hope to advance their economic interests thereby. In many a community the schools provide free courses of the sort described: the administrator's task is to encourage his workers to take advantage of the offerings presented by bringing their attention to the opportunities. He may find it necessary, however, to seek the coöperation of local educators and public officials, convincing them that there is a real need for new courses at places and hours suitable for the workers. The educator of today is usually receptive to new ideas and eager to coöperate to the best of his ability in any practical educational program.

Recreation. Every work project offers a splendid chance for organized recreations, ranging from cards to athletic games such as baseball. If there are enough candidates, competing teams can be made up within the project. Interest is heightened by prizes, cups, plaques, etc., which may be donated by local service clubs or by the administrative staff of the project. Ball teams may compete in city leagues, or with other project teams: in fact the opportunities for recreational activities are limited chiefly by financial considerations, for the workers and their families must conserve their small incomes. Dances, picnics, and excursions may be arranged occasionally if costs can be kept at a minimum. The recreation program yields dividends in heightened morale, esprit-de-corps, good health and spirits among the workers,

and is useful in bringing a better understanding between the workers and their supervisors. Real or imaginary troubles are forgotten during these diversions, and home ties strengthened when the children join in the fun at picnics, or watch Dad play baseball.

CONCLUSION

The ingenuity and resourcefulness of a good administrator will suggest to him additions and refinements to the program above. We believe that the substance of this program can, however, be applied to any relief project by willing and friendly supervisors. Substantially as described, the plan was used successfully in Philadelphia and St. Louis by the Bureau of the Census on its WPA projects: the few case illustrations which have been given could be duplicated many times over. What was done there can be done elsewhere, and even though some of the results prove impermanent, we must remember that for every project worker benefited there are, on an average, four members of his family who also profit directly or indirectly from the rehabilitation program. Multiply each worker by the number in his family and your total grows to large proportions; then add the doctors, opticians, grocers, and hosts of others, with their families, and we see the series of widening circles bringing in other thousands. Responsible leadership will work miracles when coupled with the public service spirit which, latent or active, inhabits the breast of nearly all American citizens.



RECENT NEWS REVIEWED

NOTES AND EVENTS

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Reorganization Bills in Congress.

—The President presented his reorganization program to Congress on January 12th. Executive hearings were held by the senate and house committees on government organization sitting jointly through February, March, and April. These hearings have been published. The two committees then proceeded independently. The chairman of the senate committee, the late majority leader Robinson, introduced an omnibus bill covering the whole program, with certain modifications as to civil service, independent regulatory commissions, etc. This was opened to public hearings for ten days in August and was reported out, together with a brief but illuminating report by the new chairman, Senator Byrnes, as S. 2970. The new draft is clarified as to finance and greatly improved as to civil service.

In broad outline the senate proposal would give to the President power for three years to transfer, consolidate, or abolish administrative agencies except nine independent regulatory bodies, such as the federal trade commission, the interstate commerce commission and the securities and exchange commission. Failure of the senate bill to give the President executive control over the administrative and policy-forming functions of these semi-judicial agencies is one of the chief criticisms of the measure from the standpoint of the report of the President's committee on administrative management. The municipal government of the District of Columbia, the board of governors of the federal reserve system, the general

auditing office, the engineer corps of the army and the Mississippi River commission are also exempt from the authority of the President.

The senate bill authorizes the extension of the civil service and the classification act to positions which are not clearly temporary in character. Field employees for the first time are included under the provisions of the classification act. A single, technically qualified administrator is substituted for the present three-headed civil service board. Positions which are filled by the President by and with the consent of the senate are not included within the scope of this bill.

The general accounting office would be abolished. The executive functions of exercising current financial control over executive departments would be transferred to the bureau of the budget. The postaudit duties would be vested in an independent auditor-general responsible to a joint Congressional committee.

The house committee, under the leadership of Congressman Cochran, has prepared four separate bills. Of these two were passed—H.R. 7730 dealing with the six administrative assistants and H.R. 8202 creating a department of welfare and giving the President power for two years to rearrange and consolidate, subject to congressional veto. This bill was carried by a vote of 283 to 75. The debate will be found in the *Congressional Record* for August 13th. The Vinson bill (H.R. 8276) dealing with audit and control and the Mead bill (H.R. 8277) dealing with the extension and revision of the civil service were not acted upon.

At the next session of Congress these senate and house bills will be brought together in conference and prompt action is anticipated. There are no major differences between the

Byrnes bill of the senate and the four house bills, though the house bills seem to follow the President's program more closely wherever there is a difference.

JOHN BLANCHARD

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Nation and States Foster Huge Park and Playground Program.—According to the federal works progress administration, the 7,667 WPA projects involving public recreational facilities, completed or in progress at the beginning of 1937, are estimated to cost a total of \$394,790,680, when the 2,721 still under way at that time are completed. Of this amount local sponsors for the projects have agreed to pay \$34,180,957, leaving \$360,609,723 to be paid by the federal government. This is without consideration of projects initiated since January 1, 1937.

The above total of 7,667 recreational projects constitutes 6.3 per cent of the 121,240 WPA projects of all kinds; it includes 3,038 playgrounds and athletic fields, 3,208 parks, and 1,421 other projects. The estimated cost is 11.2 per cent of the cost for all WPA projects. A monthly average of about 190,000 persons, about 7.6 per cent of the monthly average of about 2,500,000 persons working on all projects of the WPA from its inception in the summer of 1935 to the end of 1936, was employed on such projects—athletic fields, playgrounds, golf courses, swimming pools, parks, fair grounds, etc.

While the national park service carries forward its nation-wide survey of recreational areas and facilities, looking toward a national recreation plan, information gathered by the Council of State Governments shows that the state park movement is making phenomenal advancement. The following park legislation has been passed in 1937: creating conservation departments or commissions—Georgia, Oklahoma, Tennessee (1933-1936 saw five created); establishing state park boards or commissions—Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Missouri, and Wyoming, as compared to the establishment of nine during 1934-1936. New York and New Jersey provided for the creation by interstate compact of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission as a joint corporate municipal instrumentality (the first such compact). The compact is before Congress for approval. Most states have strengthened their park laws since 1933.

Interstate Cooperation Methods Provided in Thirty-five States.—With the close of the 1937 legislative year, thirty-five of the forty-eight states are now provided with machinery to solve interstate problems, according to the Council of State Governments.

Since January 1, twenty-five state legislatures have voted establishment of agencies of cooperation to work with the council. In the last few months Massachusetts set up a commission on interstate cooperation to succeed its commission on interstate compacts affecting labor and industries; Connecticut and Wisconsin became members of the cooperating group by statute, Michigan passed a concurrent resolution designating its well established legislative council as the agency to perform functions of interstate cooperation, and Governor Horner of Illinois signed the bill providing for an official commission on interstate cooperation.

States still lacking this legal implement for attacking interstate problems are Arizona, California, Delaware, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, Texas, Utah, and Washington.

Improved supervision of insurance in the various states may soon become a matter for interstate cooperation toward more uniform laws. Meeting recently in Philadelphia, the National Association of Insurance Commissioners heard its executive committee suggest the possibility of creating an interstate commission on insurance laws.

Signing of an interstate uniform parole compact by governors of twenty states is scheduled as one of the important features of the annual sessions of the interstate commission on crime, September 24th and 25th, in Kansas City, Missouri. This will make possible the supervision of paroled prisoners in cases where, due to the existence of their families in another state, better opportunity for employment there, or similar reasons, rehabilitation would be facilitated by transfer to such other state.

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Welfare Employees Under Merit System.—Welfare legislation in 1937 shows that four states—Arkansas, California, Tennessee, and Washington—provided for inclusion of welfare personnel in the state merit system, the *Public Welfare News* reports; in most cases the state department fixes personnel standards.

Arizona, Idaho, and Iowa require selection

of welfare employees by open competitive examination. Training programs are stipulated in California, Kansas, and New Mexico as functions of the state welfare boards. Washington has just held its first examination for public welfare personnel under its merit plan.

*

Michigan Becomes Fourteenth Civil Service State.—Recent adoption of a merit system bill, strongly advocated by Governor Murphy, makes Michigan the fourteenth of the states having civil service laws, and the fifth to adopt such legislation this year. The new act, which becomes operative January 1, 1938, provides for a bipartisan civil service commission of three members. Its administration will be under a personnel director, appointed by the governor. The sum of \$138,000 has been appropriated for the first six months, and \$143,000 for the next year. To obtain civil service status, about ten thousand state employees must take qualifying tests to be given by the commission. Residence requirements are not included in the new act, but disabled veterans are given special preference.

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Illinois Parole System Continued.—Despite violent editorial opposition and featuring of crimes by paroled prisoners, Governor Henry Horner of Illinois on July 10th vetoed legislation which would have permitted trial judges to fix minimum and maximum sentences, and weakened the powers of the state parole board. He stated: "Despite faults in administration the record shows that the parole plan has contributed more toward the security of society than the fixed sentences that preceded it in the law of this state. No trial judge, no matter how competent, can accurately predict when any convicted person can be released with a reasonable prospect of safety to the public . . . I am opposed to the repeal of the parole system piecemeal or in toto. . . . The press tells the public only of the paroled convict who goes wrong. Rarely is credit given for the vast majority who make good."

*

New Civil Service Law for California.—A new civil service act for the California personnel board, effective on August 27th, was signed in July by the governor. It facilitates the operation of the civil service constitutional amendment of 1934. Among other matters it provides for the development of a career

service by filling higher positions through promotion wherever practicable.

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Council-Manager Plan Developments.—The recently formed Huntington (West Virginia) Civic Association is working for the adoption of the manager plan for that city. Various civic organizations and luncheon clubs are represented on it. The chamber of commerce is also taking a prominent part in the campaign. The new association will seek to educate the people with regard to the workings of the plan as well as the use of the initiative, referendum, and recall. Thousands of information sheets and reprints of newspaper articles have been circulated. Guidance will also be offered as to the selection of the charter board of eleven members. According to Paul K. Walp, head of Marshall College, "All in all, it appears that the manager plan is rolling along the Ohio River and we hope it won't be long before most of the cities from Pittsburgh to St. Louis are enrolled under the municipal manager banner." He points out that Wheeling, West Virginia; Ashland, Kentucky; Ironton, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, Ohio; and several other cities on the Ohio River are now functioning under the plan.

At a public hearing of the Charter Committee authorized by the 1937 legislature to draft a new municipal structure for the city and county of Philadelphia, the manager plan of government together with proportional representation for the election of the council was strongly urged by a number of Philadelphia citizens and organizations. The committee has the matter under advisement.

Petitions are being circulated in Yonkers, New York, for a city manager and proportional representation charter under the new Armstrong home rule law.

The executive committee of the Winnipeg (Manitoba) Home and Property Owners Association has endorsed the manager plan for that Canadian city.

Ashland, Ohio, (11,141 population) at a special election on June 22, rejected by a vote of 2,637 to 683 city charter amendments proposing a city manager, a full time health department, and election of councilmen by wards instead of at large. College Park, Georgia, (6,604) on June 29 by a vote of 424 to 64 defeated a proposal to adopt a council-manager charter enacted by the recent legislature.

In Berkley, Michigan, (5,571) a city commissioner is advocating a charter amendment providing for a city manager. Shillington, Pennsylvania, (4,401) has passed an ordinance creating the position of borough manager, similar to that of other Pennsylvania boroughs.

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Citizen Advisory Committees in Hackensack.—According to the *Hackensack Record*, Mayor deClairmont has started his administration in that New Jersey city with a proposal to organize advisory committees of citizens to help the mayor, council, and city manager on unusual problems of civic administration. He has already been authorized to appoint committees to help with Hackensack's \$435,000 trunk sewer project and with parks and playgrounds, and he states: "One benefit to be derived from such a plan of conscription of brains is that it will interest the city's leading citizens in government."

■

New York Mayors' Conference Plans Regional Meetings.—The New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials has announced plans for eleven regional meetings of city and village officials to be held between September of this year and January 1938. Each meeting will consist of two sessions, without set program. Local problems presented by the officials attending will be discussed at the morning session; suggestions for new municipal legislation and proposals for the constitutional convention will be received and discussed at the afternoon session.

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Philadelphia Family Court Unconstitutional.—On July 7th the supreme court of Pennsylvania declared unconstitutional the law creating a family court in Philadelphia, under which four judges had recently been appointed by Governor Earle. The municipal court of eleven judges and some five hundred employees was restored. The new civil service commission of five, to be appointed by the mayor and controller, was also voided in favor of the old commission of three appointed by the council. The old receiver of taxes was restored to office, but the new board, of seven members, for revision of taxes, was upheld, with the provision that the three present members serve out their terms. Changes in assessment methods were approved.

Advisory Council Urged for Alberta.—

According to a dispatch in the *New York Times* of August 29th, formation of a provincial advisory council, consisting of four outstanding business men of Alberta, to advise and assist in joint action of Liberals, Conservatives, and the United Farmers of Alberta in effecting "establishment of a sound business government at Edmonton," was proposed by E. L. Gray, provincial leader of the Liberal party.

Mr. Gray explained that "this council will be entirely of an advisory nature and will itself take no active part in the political field." The Liberal Association, he said, would name representatives to act with the council and the Conservative and other political groups would be requested to name members to do likewise.

Under the "unity plan" announced by Mr. Gray, local autonomy of political groups would be respected and in each constituency local officers would be urged to form small coordinating councils to work with representatives of other political groups.

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New York University Public Service Program.—

In coöperation with administrative departments of the New York City and State governments the New York University division of general education will present a comprehensive program of professional courses in public service this fall, offering both practical training for young men and women who desire to enter public service and advanced training for existing employees. The program, which was planned by a board of practical government experts and embraces ten fields of public service, will be presented evenings at the Washington Square center of the university by members of the government department faculty assisted by city and state officers.

The planning committee included Miss Grace A. Reavy, president, and Frank H. Densler, executive officer, of the New York State civil service commission; Mark Graves, state commissioner of taxation and finance; James E. Finegan, president of the New York City civil service commission; Leonard D. White, former member of the United States civil service commission; Professor Paul Studenski, Professor Wallace S. Sayre, and others. Professor Sayre is in charge of the program.

Courses will include government and ad-

ministration of New York City and of New York State, unemployment insurance administration, methods of assessment of property, social insurance, public employment service, public personnel administration, and related subjects.

Dean Ned H. Dearborn stated that the new program was prompted generally by the rapidly growing need for trained public servants and more specifically by Mayor LaGuardia's leadership in raising the public service standards in New York City.

University of Pennsylvania Establishes Government Institute.—An institute of local and state government, which will be supported during the first six years by a gift of \$240,000 from an anonymous source, has been established at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. In announcing the new institute Dr. Thomas S. Gates, president of the university, states that increased emphasis will be placed on training for citizenship and public service by the university. The principal objectives of the institute will be:

1. To establish as complete a center of practical and printed knowledge about every phase of the problems of local and state government as possible;
2. To maintain, with the center, an advisory, consulting, and informational service for local and state government units in Pennsylvania and for associations and officials actively concerned with the work of such units;
3. To maintain a center for the training of experts and administrators for cities and other units of local and state government, for in-service training of those now employed in the public service, and for the education in local and state government affairs of students who expect to enter business or the professions;
4. To maintain a center for conferences, lectures, and discussions relating to major questions in the improvement of local and state government in Pennsylvania and other states as a means of educating public opinion;
5. To conduct research into problems which the development of this program may bring to the surface—with particular regard to those problems which consultation and contact with local and state officials in Pennsylvania may indicate are most important to them.

The institute, offices of which will be in the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, will have an advisory committee of representatives of the various schools and departments of the university and leaders of various associations of local government officials. Until this committee is appointed and a director is selected the work of the institute will be in charge of Dr. Stephen B. Sweeney, associate professor in the Wharton school, who will serve as acting director and as assistant director on the permanent staff.

Annual Conferences of Municipal Officials.—Following is a list of important conferences of municipal officials planned for the fall months:

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, September 13th to 16th, Hotel Statler, Boston. Executive Director, Carl H. Chatters, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

American Public Works Association, October 4th to 6th, Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. Executive director, Frank W. Herring, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

International Association of Chiefs of Police, October 4th to 7th, Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland. President, L. V. Jenkins, commissioner of police, Portland, Oregon.

Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, October 4th to 8th, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, Ontario. Executive Director, G. Lyle Belsley, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

American Public Health Association, October 5th to 8th, Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. Executive Secretary, Reginald M. Atwater, 50 West 50th Street, New York City.

American Municipal Association, October 13th to 15th, Blackstone Hotel, Chicago. Executive Director, Clifford Ham, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

International City Managers' Association. October 18th to 21st, Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans. Executive Director, Clarence E. Ridley, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

National Association of Assessing Officers, October 20th to 22nd, Hotel New Yorker, New York City. Technical Director, Albert W. Noonan, 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP
GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

Merit System Extended to Deputy Sheriffs in Wisconsin.—The 170-day regular session of the Wisconsin legislature, which ended July 2nd, passed three acts designed to improve county personnel administration, again defeated an attempt to steer county government reform around the uniformity clause of the state constitution, and increased the special powers of county boards. The act of 1935 relating to civil service for deputy sheriffs in counties of less than 500,000 population (other than Milwaukee) was amended in several important respects. The establishment of a county civil service commission is made optional with the county board. At present only Milwaukee County has such a commission. It seems probable that most counties which apply the merit system to deputy sheriffs will follow the other option provided in the act, namely, certification of three persons for each position by the state bureau of personnel at the request of the county board and at the expense of the county. Racine County, the only one in this classification using the merit system for deputies, employs this method. In case such commissions are set up, they will, in all important respects, be governed by the provisions of the civil service law for Milwaukee County, with the exception of the provisions for compensation and the number of commissioners. The less populous counties may provide three commissioners, instead of five as in Milwaukee County. The new act relaxes the older provision as to the eligibility of deputies employed at the time of the adoption of the merit system. Henceforth, such persons are eligible for appointment without examination if the county board so decides. The new measure also increases the vote necessary for amendment or repeal of the merit ordinance from two-thirds to three-fourths of the members of the board. Some definite action on the question of adopting the merit principle under the terms of the act in Dane County is expected at the next meeting of the county board.

Retirement Annuities for Milwaukee Officials.—Two acts were passed providing for retirement systems in Milwaukee County. The first measure provides for annuity and benefit

funds for sheriffs and their widows and children. It sets up a special retirement board, creates age and service annuities by contributions of 3 and 9 per cent (of salaries) paid by sheriffs and the county respectively, and authorizes an additional tax levy. The second act establishes the first comprehensive county retirement system in Wisconsin. It includes all Milwaukee county employees not covered by any municipal or state pension fund except those present employees who do not choose to accept membership. All future employees become members as a condition of employment. General administration of the retirement system is vested in an annuity and pension board of seven members: three named for three-year terms by the chairman of the board of supervisors and confirmed by the board, three members elected for staggered three-year terms by the employees from their own ranks, and the county auditor, ex-officio. The board, upon the recommendation of an actuary employed for the purpose, shall adopt tables and certify rates of contribution by employees and the county. Periodic readjustments are required at least once in five years. Retirement is optional at the age of sixty and compulsory at seventy, unless a two-year extension is granted by the county board. Benefits consist of an annuity which is the actuarial equivalent of the member's accumulated contributions, a pension equal to 1/140th of the final average salary for each year of membership service, and an additional pension of 1/70th of the final average salary for each year of creditable prior service if such a prior service certificate is in full force. Allowances are also provided for ordinary and accidental disability retirement, the former after fifteen years of creditable service if the member is physically or mentally incapacitated. In case of ordinary death, the beneficiary receives all the accumulated contributions and a lump sum of one-half of the final average salary. In case of accidental death in active service, a pension of one-half of the final average salary of the deceased is granted the widow during widowhood, or the child or children till the age of eighteen, or the dependent parent or parents for life. This system will be established January 1, 1938.

Effort to Eliminate Uniformity Clause Unsuccessful.—Another unsuccessful attempt was made this session to circumvent the barrier which the uniformity clause of the constitution

offers to county government reform. Amendment of section 23 of article IV seems to be the only solution. This was proposed in a joint resolution introduced in the assembly. As originally worded, the proposal was simply to empower the legislature to provide for different forms of county government, instead of one uniform system, to become effective in any county upon approval of a majority vote of those voting. The judiciary committee's amendment, limiting the forms of county government to three in number and requiring a majority vote of those voting in each of a majority of the political subdivisions of the county, was accepted. After the third reading, the resolution was indefinitely postponed by a vote of forty-nine to twenty-five.

To preserve and utilize the natural advantages of many counties, the legislature also extended the special powers of the county boards, authorizing an annual appropriation not to exceed \$5,000 to advertise "the advantages, attractions, and natural resources of the county and to conserve, develop, and improve the same." The county, or any agent authorized by it, may cooperate with any private agency or organization in this work.

ELDON L. JOHNSON

University of Wisconsin

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County Government Reform in New York City Jeopardized.—According to the Citizens' Budget Commission, "no reduction of county government expenses and no real consolidation of county offices is provided for in the six Sullivan bills recently introduced in the board of aldermen. These bills, while ostensibly intended to carry out the purpose of the constitutional amendment adopted by the people by a three-to-one vote in November 1935, in fact will accomplish no such purpose. Analysis of the bills reveals that, instead of consolidation, economy, and the transfer of county functions to city control, these measures would perpetuate the present obsolete and wasteful county government structure and would effect no centralized city-wide administration of any of the offices.

"The county offices affected by the constitutional amendment are the sheriffs, the commissioners of records, the registers, the public administrators, and the commissioners of jurors. These bills fail completely to make any change in the offices of the public administrators. While they transfer the func-

tions of the commissioners of records of New York and Kings Counties to the county clerk they make no reference whatever to the commissioner of records of Bronx County. . . . The office of sheriff would simply undergo a change of name to borough marshal with no change in jurisdiction. Indeed, their jurisdiction is extended to include the power of appointment of the eighty-two city marshals, now appointed by the mayor, who would become deputy marshals under the jurisdiction of the borough marshals. . . . The only real change that the bill would make, in so far as the sheriffs are concerned, is to place their appointment in the supreme court justices in each borough, instead of requiring that they be elected by the people.

"The constitutional amendment for county reform was adopted following twenty years of public effort to centralize county offices within the City of New York and end overlapping jobs, sinecures, and payroll and other waste, estimated at more than one million dollars a year, in the five county governments. Commissioner of Accounts Blanshard has publicly stated that yearly waste of eight hundred thousand dollars exists in the five county sheriffs' offices, and that he has found 'political bureaucrats of distinguished unfitness' in the offices of registers and commissioners of record. These bills do not even make an effort to remedy this condition."

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Hospitalization a County Responsibility in Milwaukee.—A law passed in 1935 made the hospitalization of persons afflicted with contagious diseases a county responsibility. For over two years, reports the Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, the county board has been trying to get the city of Milwaukee to transfer its 250-bed isolation hospital to the county government so that this hospital can serve the entire county. The city appears reluctant to make the transfer because city officials fear the loss of prestige by turning first parks, and now the hospital, over to the county government. The law must be complied with, however, and if the city refuses to turn over its hospital the county must build another 250-bed hospital estimated to cost \$400,000. The county government now operates six hospitals containing 94 per cent of the public hospital facilities in Milwaukee. The advantages which the county has in operating hospitals on a large scale such as the

use of student nurses, a forty-eight- instead of a forty-hour work week, and the quantity purchases of food, medical supplies, and hospital equipment are estimated to make a saving of at least \$25,000 a year.

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Pennsylvania Amendment Would Shorten County Ballot.—As the result of the findings and recommendations of the local government commission created by an act of the 1935 legislature, a resolution was introduced and passed in the 1937 legislature to amend the constitution in the interest of a more simplified county government. The resolution requires passage at the next session of the legislature following which the amendment will be submitted to the people for ratification.

The present constitution enumerates sixteen county officers, at least thirteen of which must be elected in each county. It also permits the creation of new counties. The proposed amendment would retain as constitutional officers only the three commissioners, the sheriff, the district attorney, and the controller. It would also prohibit the creation of any new counties except by the consolidation of existing counties. This particular section of the proposed amendment reads as follows:

Section 1. A new county shall not be created except by the consolidation of two or more existing counties. An existing county may be abolished and its territory annexed to one or more contiguous counties. The general assembly shall by law provide for the consolidation and abolition of counties but no existing county shall be consolidated with another and no county shall be abolished without the consent of the electors thereof.

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Counties and Municipalities Propose Tax Adjustments in Mississippi.—Mississippi municipal and county officers have recently held a series of regional meetings under the leadership of C. D. Ross of Jackson and J. E. Frazer of Canton, managers of the municipal and county supervisors associations, respectively. Among the resolutions adopted uniformly by the several meetings are the following:

1. A part of the state sales tax should be allocated to the municipalities and counties to be used to retire their bonds.
2. The state tax on oil and gasoline used by municipalities and counties is unfair, unjust, and against the policy of the state and should be discontinued.
3. Payment of motor license fees should

be moved up to March 1 of each year with a definite requirement that no license be issued unless the owner can produce a tax receipt covering the ad valorem taxes on the car for state, county, and municipal purposes. The tax collector should be liable on his bond for taxes on cars for which the license was issued without payment of the ad valorem taxes.

4. All lands now being sold to the state for taxes due and delinquent should be sold to the county in which they are located subject to all state and municipal taxes and special improvement assessments.

D. W. KNEPPER

Mississippi State College for Women

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Zoning for Five Tennessee Counties.—

The American Society of Planning Officials reports that enabling legislation for the zoning of the five counties comprising northeastern Tennessee was passed at the last session of the general assembly. Counties affected are Unicoi, Carter, Washington, Johnson, and Sullivan. The enabling act empowers the county court to provide for zoning of all of the county lying outside of municipalities, and to regulate the location, height, and size of buildings, and the uses of land, buildings, and structures within the zoned areas. The Northeastern Tennessee Regional Planning Commission will zone the counties.

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County Consolidation Now Possible in Montana.—

In conformity with the constitutional amendment passed in November 1936, the Montana legislature has recently passed an act setting up machinery for consolidating two or more counties by consent of the people. Under this act, if those people residing in a county desire its abandonment, a petition must be circulated and signed by 35 per cent of the voters. No withdrawals of signatures are thereafter permitted. Elections are then held both in the county to be abandoned and in the county with which it is to be consolidated.

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Philadelphia City-County Merger Vote Ordered.—

The Pennsylvania supreme court on June 25th, in a unanimous decision, ordered that a constitutional amendment providing for the merger of city and county government in Philadelphia be submitted to the voters at the November election.

John B. Kelly, city Democratic leader, who coöperated with Mayor Wilson in the effort in the state legislature to make a vote possible

this fall, stated: "The court, with sanity and wisdom, reversed an older decision which for years had imposed a 'time lock' which fixed an absolute five-year limit on such elections. Its action paves the way, if the people approve the amendment, and I think they will, for adoption of a new charter for Philadelphia in 1938 instead of 1939." City Controller White estimated that a saving of \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 a year to the city would be made possible by the consolidation.

H. M. O.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Pennsylvania Modernizes Local Fiscal Systems.—The general assembly of 1937 has finished laying the ground work for a modern fiscal system for 5,275 local taxing units of the commonwealth. With the addition of three new acts to the seven adopted in 1935, an adequate uniform budgeting and reporting system now applies to every subdivision of local government with the exception of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Scranton which are governed by individual acts. As a result of this legislation, business-like methods are now provided for the handling of approximately one-half billion dollars of local revenues annually.

Two of the new acts, approved by the governor on June 4th and 5th, respectively, bring 936 boroughs and 1,514 second-class townships under the system adopted for the other types of local governments in 1935. These bills were introduced by Senator William J. Eroe, Jr., of Lawrence County, as companion measures to the bills which, as a member of the house of representatives, he introduced and brought to final passage two years ago. The new bills were sponsored, as in 1935, by the Taxpayers Forum of Pennsylvania and were endorsed by the local government commission and by the Democratic administration through the department of internal affairs.

The third new bill pertaining to the uniform fiscal system was incorporated in the act establishing county institution districts in each county to replace the local poor districts. The sections of this act which pertain to finances place the fiscal affairs of the new districts under the same system of budgeting and reporting now in use for counties.

The system put into effect by these acts provides primarily for: (1) adoption of and adherence to an annual financial program of income and expenditure by every local taxing unit; (2) uniformity in budgeting and reporting of local funds; and (3) establishment of a unified, permanent record of local finances through the filing of budgets and reports with an agency of the state government at Harrisburg.

Under the standard budgetary provisions each local district is required to prepare and adopt an annual budget, showing both the proposed expenditures for the year and the anticipated income from which they will be met. Under the budget law no appropriation may be adopted in any budget which causes the total estimated expenditures to exceed the revenues anticipated. As a result of this requirement no local government covered by these acts may now legally adopt an unbalanced budget.

After the budgets are prepared a waiting period of one month is provided for the further consideration of the budget by the tax-levying body and by the taxpayers. Each law specifically requires that public notice shall be given of the fact that the budget is available for inspection by any interested person or group at a designated office or residence within the community. Thus, for the first time in commonwealth history, definite provision is made in these acts for the participation of taxpayers in determining the financial programs of local taxing districts before tax rates are fixed and expenditures are made. Heretofore the role of the taxpayer has been limited under the law to protests against tax rates after they have been adopted or to appeals from auditors' reports after expenditures have been incurred.

THOMAS A. LOGUE,

Secretary of Internal Affairs, Pennsylvania
From *Your Dollar's Worth*, July 1937

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Balancing State, County, and City Budgets.—In these days of unbalanced budgets of all first class powers throughout the world, it is of interest to note something of the legal provisions for balancing state, county, and city budgets as revealed in reliable source material consisting of the statutes, constitutions, legislative resolutions, charters, ordinances, treasurers', attorney generals', and auditors' reports in the forty-eight states of the union. This is a brief resume of a part of the findings

of the author's research survey on "Balancing State, County, and City Budgets."

The Idaho laws require the balancing of the state budget as well as those of all municipalities.

In Illinois the budget is made up for the state and there is a law for the counties and also for cities of certain size. Contracts cannot be made beyond certain of these budgets, especially those of the county. These budgets are always kept balanced on the books, but no law could be found that technically requires budgets balanced.

The Kentucky statutes require county budgeting, but this provision is not made for the cities.

According to the report of the state auditor of Maine the law of that state requires that the state budget shall be prepared in such manner as to "present a complete financial plan for each fiscal year of the ensuing biennium." It shall be set up in three parts as follows: (1) A budget message by the governor, outlining the financial policy, must show "a balanced relation between the total proposed expenditures and the total anticipated revenues," etc.; (2) Detailed estimates of expenditures and revenues, statements of the bonded indebtedness of the state government, showing debt redemption requirements, the debt authorized and unissued, etc. The expression "debt authorized and unissued" refers to the Maine constitutional provision which prohibits a debt by the state in excess of two million dollars except by special vote of the people on a resolution submitted by the legislature proposing an increase for a definite purpose; (3) Drafts of the legislative measures required to give legal sanction to the financial plan when adopted by the legislature, including the appropriation bills and such other bills as may be required to provide the income necessary to finance the budget. Work programs are required to be submitted each year to the governor and council, who have power to revise, alter, or change such allotments. The allotments may not exceed the total appropriations made available to each department or agency for the year in question. The state controller shall authorize expenditures from the appropriations "on the basis of such allotments and not otherwise." There is no legal provision in Maine requiring balanced budgets for towns, cities, or counties.

The Massachusetts law requires that state, county, city, and town budgets be balanced.

There is no law compelling the state of Minnesota to balance its budget. Certain cities have charter requirements, and there are certain statutes placing a limit on mill levies in counties, municipalities, and school districts. The League of Minnesota Municipalities has made a detailed study of this problem.

The statutes in Mississippi require balanced budgets by state, county, and city governments. The statutes are strictly enforced in so far as state departments and agencies are concerned, but strict enforcement of city and county budget acts has been impossible due to self-evident conditions.

Missouri has state and county budget laws.

The Nebraska bill known as the county budget act of 1937, providing for balancing of county budgets, was approved May 3, 1937.¹

Nevada laws set forth that state, county, and city operate under a budget-balancing system.

No laws exist upon the statute books of the state of New Hampshire requiring that state, county, or city budgets shall be balanced.

The report of the state auditor of New Jersey states that the laws of New Jersey require an annual budget for state, counties, and municipalities. The New Jersey comptroller is required to make an estimate of revenue and the law prohibits the making of appropriations by the legislature in excess of the comptroller's estimate of revenue. Counties and municipalities are required to balance the budget mathematically and those municipalities which operate under the so-called cash basis act are required to increase the amount to be raised by taxes, which is the balancing figure in proportion to the rate of taxes collected in the previous year. The New Jersey auditor gives as an example that if the amount to be raised by taxes to balance the budget mathematically is \$1,000,000 and the rate of collection of the previous year's taxes in that year was 80 per cent, then the amount of tax actually levied is \$1,250,000. This on a basis of 80 per cent collections in the current year will produce \$1,000,000 in cash, the amount needed to balance the budget from a cash standpoint. In 1936 New Jersey passed a budget act limiting the counties and municipalities in the

¹See below, Nebraska's New County Uniform Accounting law. Ed.

appropriation of surplus to the amount of surplus which is free cash. Furthermore, in anticipating miscellaneous revenues, they are limited on each item to the amount actually received in the previous year on account of that item in cash.

The laws of Oregon require balancing of municipal budgets through inhibition against spending more than the amounts of budgets or for different purposes than the budgets specify. Section 69-1117, Oregon code 1935 supplement states: "It shall be unlawful for any public official to expend any money in excess of the amounts, or for any other or different purpose than as is provided by law. Any public official who shall expend any public money in excess of the amounts, or for any other or different purpose or purposes than is authorized by law, shall be civilly liable for the return of said money by suit of the district attorney of the district wherein said offense is committed, or at the suit of any taxpayer of said district." This does not mean that a subdivision must remain upon a cash basis. Expenditures within budget allowance may be evidenced by warrants endorsed "not paid for want of funds."

South Carolina has no law requiring state, county, and city budget balancing. It has been customary the past several years, however, for this state to operate upon a balanced budget. The duty of the South Carolina budget commission, which was provided by the general assembly, is to see that expenditures are kept well within revenues.

The laws in South Dakota require state, county, and city to set up a budget, which they cannot exceed during the fiscal year for which the budget was made.

The Texas reorganization act of 1937 requires state budget balancing. County and city budget balancing is required by the local finance act of 1937, but the act is only applicable to such counties and cities as sell bonds under the same act.

The Wisconsin Tax Commission reports that except for the provisions of chapter 65 of the statutes relating primarily to first class cities, paragraph 2 of section 62.12, and section 59.84 relating to Milwaukee County, the statutes are silent with respect to municipal budgets. Twenty-two counties and nine cities in Wisconsin have inaugurated a system of budget control.

Between 1918 and 1930 disbursements were tripled by some of the state governments and their respective political subdivisions; as a result the mounting tax burden has become a matter of grave concern. The depression has crystalized public sentiment on this most serious problem with which governments have been confronted in our day.

C. STEWART PETERSON

Baltimore, Md.

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Savannah Adopts Consultant Service Report.—The city council of Savannah, Georgia, adopted an ordinance at its meeting July 30th, suggested in the report of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, which was received that day. In accordance with the recommendations of the report, this ordinance, strictly regulating the city's budget procedure and financial practice, will probably be made a part of the indenture of a proposed issue of refunding bonds and ultimately become a part of the city charter.

It provides that: (1) in the preparation of an annual budget the estimate of receipts from locally assessed real property taxes shall not exceed the proportion of the levy collected in the preceding year and from most other items shall not be greater than the receipts from similar sources in the preceding year; (2) the budget must contain appropriations for interest on bonded debt and principal of all serial bonds maturing during the year, and the sums required to be paid into the sinking fund by any ordinance or bond issue, or contract obligation, as well as cost of operation of the city departments, and any other purposes for which the city may legally appropriate money; (3) the total of appropriations shall never exceed the total revenue estimate; (4) any unencumbered balance from the previous year shall only be available for appropriation after the amount of the excess shall have been determined by the comptroller and certified by him to the council; (5) if total expenditures in any year exceed cash receipts, there shall be a deficiency appropriation in the budget for the immediately ensuing year for the excess; (6) no money shall be paid from the city treasury or any obligation be incurred except in accordance with an appropriation duly made, nor in excess of the unencumbered balance of such appropriation; (7) money received from the sale of bonds may be appropri-

ated from time to time for the purposes for which such bonds were issued; (8) extraordinary receipts from sources not included in the estimate shall be available for appropriation any time after their actual receipt, but their amount shall not be included in the estimate of revenue for the ensuing year; (9) in case of disaster or great emergency the council may by two-thirds vote appropriate such sums as may be necessary, provided such appropriations shall be included in the next year's budget unless meanwhile financed by a bond issue.

The city's financial position is fundamentally sound, but momentarily embarrassing because of a distressing shortage of cash to meet bond obligations and payrolls for the remainder of the year. On December 31, 1936, it had a deficit of \$818,505 which, except for \$61,395 in contract obligations, is made up of demand notes and past due bonds and coupons held by the banks, the amount due the sinking fund, and audited vouchers payable to merchants. One must take into account depression conditions, reduced cash receipts, heavy emergencies for relief, and the city's attempts to curtail expenditures—including pay reductions of \$90,000 annually. But budgets adopted could not be adhered to and expenditures regularly exceeded receipts.

The administration of Mayor Robert M. Hitch, which came into office in January, is determined to take the steps necessary to remedy the situation by adoption of the budget measure described above, a more stringent tax collection policy, and certain other improvements recommended by the Consultant Service such as a scientific revaluation of real estate, standardization of salary schedules, metering of the water service, motorization of the public works department, putting the sinking fund on an investment basis, and a refunding of past due bonds and maturities of 1937 and 1938 and demand notes and audited accounts. The plan, as presented by the Consultant Service, also included the repeal on July 21st of a 2 per cent local sales tax ordinance then in litigation.

DORIS DARMSTADTER

Consultant Service,
National Municipal League

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Nebraska's New County Uniform Accounting Law.—One of the laws enacted by

the 1937 session of the Nebraska legislature is being watched with considerable interest. It relates to county government and provides for: (1) a system of uniform accounts, (2) regular audits by the state auditor, and (3) publication of the audit reports. The new law is a restatement of earlier statutes which have been unenforceable. It is hoped that through the new measure Nebraska will undertake to do what many states have been doing for a very long time.

The new law contains many commendable features. There will be no waiting "to lock the barn" until "after the horse is stolen" for the audits must occur at intervals of no more than two years. There will be no opportunity for delinquent county officials to "cover up" for the auditor must not "tip off" the local officials of an impending audit. The audit will be more than a mere "white wash" for there shall be a careful check of every claim, receipt, and expenditure. In fact it is made the auditor's duty to pass upon the regularity of each claim paid. Worse yet, from the standpoint of an offending county official, the record will be spread before the public through publication of the audit report in the local papers. Moreover, the new law is not to be a mere gesture for it is specifically provided that when once the state auditor has devised his system of uniform accounts the county officials must adopt it. Disobedience such as prevailed under the former statutes will not be tolerated (although the act provides no penalty for failure to conform).

Undoubtedly the new law will do much to bring order out of chaos and should eliminate much of the waste of county government. Control of expenditure, however, involves much more than merely compelling departments to remain within their respective budgets or requiring county officials to submit to all limitations imposed by the county governing body. In its broader aspects it implies the application of revenues to those activities in which they are calculated to do the most good. It is from this standpoint that the new law is not all that might be desired.

To assure the preparation of adequate financial reports is one thing; to bring about their use quite another. Too many governmental financial reports leave the feeling that the officials responsible for their preparation were motivated by a desire to impress the

reader with the ability of the official to balance his accounts. This is quite a desirable accomplishment but uninformative owing to the comparative ease with which revenues may be transferred from one fund to another. The majority of interested taxpayers, and county officials for that matter, are not trained in the interpretation of financial reports. For this reason adequate financial reporting calls for the presentation of the material much in the form in which it could be used by one who has been so trained.

An exhibit of a governmental financial report taken by itself is extremely dry and uninteresting. Let it be accompanied by similar reports for previous periods, however, and it is given life. Now it has a story to tell, one in which practically everyone has a vital interest. Let it be accompanied by reports from other governmental units of a similar nature and size and it carries added interest for it now provides a basis upon which the taxpayer can judge the efficiency of his public servants. Presented in this manner an exhibit of governmental finances is in usable form.

The new Nebraska law gives the auditor sufficient authority to enable him to require adequate county reports so far as construction and content are concerned. The provisions having to do with the reporting aspects of the matter, for reasons explained above, are lamentably inadequate. It is unfortunate that there is no provision for the collection, clarification, and publication of a summary of these annual reports for the state as a whole. One has only to examine a few of the reports published by some of the other states to appreciate what might be done. The various bulletins recently issued by the Mississippi State Tax Commission are illustrative. It is to be hoped that the state auditor will find a way to correct this defect in a law which promises to bring about great improvement in county administration in Nebraska.

E. B. SCHMIDT

University of Nebraska

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. at the Irish General Election.—

The following article, which appeared under this title in the *Manchester Guardian* of July 14, 1937, was written by John H. Humphreys,

secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society, after a trip to Ireland during which he observed the recent P. R. elections of the Dail Eireann of the Irish Free State:

The election of a whole parliament with the single transferable vote form of proportional representation is an event that deserves special study by democrats. It puts questions to statesmen, to political parties, to professors and students of political science. Ought the method of election to assure representation to substantial minorities? Or is it wiser that the method of election should try to force all citizens into two opposing parties, even if it may fail in the attempt, and even if it turns a general election into a veritable gamble? What is the answer that democrats should give to the challenge that the dictators make to the very idea of democracy?

The proportional system has been used in seven general elections in the Irish Free State. Mr. De Valera embodied it in the new constitution on the ground that it was a just method of election. This constitution declares that no constituency shall return less than three members. Mr. Frank MacDermot urged that the number should be not less than five. His proposal was not accepted, but Mr. De Valera intimated that it could be considered by the Dail in any new redistribution bill.

The proportional principle is generally accepted, but there was much discussion both before and during the election about three-member constituencies. Would they not prevent the proportional principle from having its full effect? Strong criticism in this sense was made of the Irish government's last redistribution bill, which greatly increased the number of three-member constituencies. It will be useful, then, to compare the results in these with the results in (1) the single-member constituencies of Great Britain and (2) those constituencies of the Irish Free State that return four or more members. Finally, it will be desirable to consider the results of the Free State general election in relation to problems of government.

Three-Member Constituencies

Throughout Ireland, whether in the three-member or the larger constituencies, there were no uncontested seats. Further, no party secured a monopoly of the representation of

any one county. In this the difference between the Irish and British methods of election is most marked. The county of Louth returns three members and is polled as one area; Kent elects fifteen members and, for a general election, is divided into single-member areas. Louth gave the following result:

LOUTH (GENERAL ELECTION, 1937)

	VOTES	SEATS
Fianna Fail	15,983	2
Fine Gael	13,705	1

Because of P.R. the large Fine Gael minority was assured of one of the three seats. In Kent one seat was uncontested, whilst in all the remaining fourteen areas the minorities were defeated. The figures were:

KENT (GENERAL ELECTION, 1935)

	VOTES	SEATS
Conservative	356,572	14
Labour	166,854	0
Liberal	45,334	0

Ought the Labour and Liberal minorities to have any representation? In Ireland, yes; in Great Britain, no. Under the British system, in the eleven counties stretching from Kent to Cornwall, Labour, although it polled 840,000 votes, failed to secure even one of the eighty-five seats.

What happened in the whole of the three-member areas? The figures were:

	VOTES	SEATS	PER SEAT
Fianna Fail ..	202,604	24	8,441
Fine Gael	162,202	16	10,137
Labour	22,965	3	7,655
Independents ..	59,771	2	29,885
Totals	447,542	45	9,945

The largest party, Fianna Fail, gained four seats more than its strictly proportionate share, largely through independents failing to poll the quota of votes that ensured election. The three-member areas certainly lessened the chances of election of minority leaders and of individuals who stood apart from parties. Even so, two independents were returned and, taken as a whole, the results of the three-member constituencies constitute, when compared with British results, a real approach to proportionality.

The constituencies returning four or more members gave the following result:

	VOTES	SEATS	PER SEAT
Fianna Fail ...	396,920	44	9,020
Fine Gael	299,056	32	9,345
Labour	109,692	10	10,969
Independents ..	71,717	6	11,952
Totals	877,385	92	9,536

The results show a still greater approach to proportionality in the representation secured by the two largest parties.

The Total Result

It remains to give the totals for all the constituencies, whether returning three, four, or more members. The figures were:

	VOTES	SEATS	PER SEAT
Fianna Fail ..	599,524	68	8,816
Fine Gael	461,258	48	9,609
Labour	132,657	13	10,204
Independents ..	131,488	8	16,436
Totals	1,324,927	137	9,671

In this table there is not shown the Fianna Fail seat occupied by Mr. Fahy, the speaker of the former Dail. In accordance with the law, he was re-elected without a contest and the number of seats to be filled for his constituency, East Galway, was reduced by one. There was not in this election such a close alliance between Fianna Fail and Labour as in 1933. Nevertheless, the figures of individual constituencies show that many voters for Fianna Fail helped Labour with their preferences, and Labour voters often helped Fianna Fail. If the votes of Fianna Fail and Labour are taken together there is a clear majority both in votes and in seats for these two parties.

Mr. De Valera is in a position relative to other parties little different from that in which he was in 1933. He has remained in office from that time. The talk of difficulties in carrying on government is therefore premature. On the contrary, it seems that proportional representation may in the end lead, as in Scandinavia, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, to some measure of coöperation between parties. Mr. Davin, a Labour member, has already suggested that there should be a private conference of representatives of the three principal parties to seek agreement as to the best means to be adopted to secure a settlement of the differences between Great Britain and Ireland.

Others have urged the formation of a national government. If such coöperation is forthcoming a sympathetic treatment by Great Britain of the existing differences would pave the way for the restoration of friendly relations between the two countries, and perhaps more than friendly relations.

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Yonkers to Vote on P. R. and Manager.—

Yonkers, a city of 135,000 on the Hudson River immediately adjoining New York City on the north, will apparently have the distinction of being the first city to act under the new Armstrong-Desmond-Miller city home rule law which allows New York cities to amend their charters by direct petition and popular vote. Petitions have been circulated by the Yonkers City Manager League for a charter amendment calling for a council-manager form of government with a common council elected by proportional representation at large on a nonpartisan ballot. It is expected that the required signatures numbering 10 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote will have been secured and the petitions filed with the common council before this department appears in print. The council can then take its choice between putting the amendment on the ballot this fall or being forced to do so in the fall of 1938 by the presentation of an additional 5 per cent petition. A vote this fall is expected.

The amendment is well drafted to accomplish its purpose. Its P. R. provisions are copied almost word for word from those of the new New York City charter under which a city council will be elected this fall. The quota is fixed at ten thousand and the city will elect a number of councilmen determined by dividing ten thousand into the total valid vote cast for the common council and taking the nearest odd number. On the basis of recent elections this will result in a council of seven or possibly five.

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Toledo Enemies of P. R. Try Again.—

A sufficient number of signatures to force a special election having been filed, the city council of Toledo has set September 21st for a referendum on a charter amendment whose main purpose is the abolition of P. R. and a return to the ward system of election. The amendment would also make the director of law elective and "strengthen" the civil service

by making a city official pay the back wages of a discharged employee out of his own pocket if it was finally determined he had discharged the employee improperly.

This is the second referendum attack on the Toledo charter since it was adopted in 1934, the first having been an unsuccessful attempt to repeal it before it went into effect. Special attacks on P. R. after its adoption are usual and understandable, since those who profited by the special privileges of the old system cannot be expected to give up without a struggle, but so far only two out of seventeen such attempts in this country have been successful (or one out of nine if only those referenda are counted in which P. R. was not bound up with other issues).

A fuller account of the Toledo situation will be found on page 425.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH
ASSOCIATION NOTES

Edited by Robert M. Paige

Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.—The bureau's work during the past year may be summarized under the following captions:

Public instruction. Studies of school management policies revealed a decline in services rendered to children in the face of an increase in funds available per pupil, which have risen from \$131.77 in 1929, to approximately \$143 per pupil in 1937, as against an average of about \$90 per pupil in thirty-three comparable cities located in northeastern states on which the figures are available. To secure further comparative data helpful to Schenectady, representatives of the bureau visited other cities that have been able to maintain or increase school services to the pupils in the face of a downward trend of unit funds. There is evidence that this work is already helping to improve educational services and to bring a better return on the school dollar. School enrollment, present and future, as influenced by the downward trend of birth rates, has been reported on, setting in motion public forces that stopped a \$500,000 proposed extension to an old high school that in a few years will not be needed. This study helped also to hold up for further review a proposal for a \$1,000,000 non-academic high school, pending a study now being made

by the bureau of vocational high school needs.

Public safety. A review of probation work was made. Budget studies for safety economies covered all divisions. Heating and fuel studies brought about a 35 per cent reduction in costs of a new installation at the fire headquarters and are being used as the basis of studies of heating other public buildings, of which there are some forty owned by the city and county.

Public works. Highway lighting was reported on to county authorities and in several newspaper articles. The municipal housing project was the subject of a staff report that is now before a special bureau committee for consideration before publication. Budget studies covered all divisions of the public works department.

Public health. The most extensive venereal clinic in the United States, according to the size of municipality, has been set up in Schenectady County. A bureau report on this institution was followed by a reduction in some of its costs.

The tuberculosis sanitarium's proposed \$200,000 extension, in the face of a downward trend in prevalence of the disease, was the subject of a short report.

Budget studies covered all city health work.

Public welfare. In relief matters the bureau has been inactive during the past year. It is now preparing, however, to issue a report on recent trends and costs.

All-department studies. This year the bureau made the most complete budget studies in its history, due in large measure to the increasing experience gained by the bureau year by year in city operations. A series of nineteen newspaper articles were run showing specifically where cuts could beneficially be made. This helped to stimulate taxpayer interest which resulted in a \$365,000 budget cut.

Election practices. In studies of election matters the bureau has probably come closer to the roots of governmental ills than in any of its other work. It is in the practical operations of the party committees that most of these ills are bred. One report shows that 140 city jobs are held by 94 Republican committeemen or members of their families out of the 154 who compose the city committee, on which the councilmen are dependent for

party endorsements in running for re-election. This restricts the independence of both councilmen and committeemen in performing their respective duties.

Suggested improvements and economies in election administration were treated in two reports, one giving pictures of polling places rented and possible free quarters in city-owned buildings in the same districts. These have been followed by a request of the council to the city clerk to recommend changes. Most of the renting will probably be dispensed with this year, with the possibility next year of re-districting at a saving of about 25 per cent in election costs.

A report on the operations of the county election commissioners has been prepared, but has not as yet been edited for publication.

Purchasing. Contractual practices of the city in large purchases and construction have been covered in this year's work. The bureau's reports on the purchasing of trucks and fire equipment would have been libelous if not true. The reports were sufficiently well documented, however, to permit newspaper use in complete form.

A bureau report on the construction practices of \$200,000 worth of water main extensions, with photographs, was credited in political circles with helping to bring about a change in city managers, which resulted in the appointment of a professionally trained man as city manager.

Civil service. The bureau's years of reporting on civil service conditions has culminated this year in a request by the city council to the state civil service commission, which has supervisory powers over local commissions, to investigate the numerous charges of irregularities.

General Administrative Practices have been summed up in periodical reports on the trends in quality of city government. The idea has been to inform bureau members and the public briefly of the situation.

State legislation has called for increasing attention by agencies concerned with local administration which in first analysis are wholly dependent on the state for their powers. This need has become accentuated in recent years due to the trend toward centralization of governmental powers.

The bureau has had a very active legislative committee for two years. This committee

has had a good effect upon state legislation and has conveyed educational benefits to its thirty-five members. It has also helped to stimulate citizen work for better government in other parts of the state.

Information about other bureaus has been the subject of two reports designed to better acquaint our five hundred members with governmental research operations.

Summary. In output of work and in some of the results obtained, the staff looks back on the past year as the most satisfactory of the last six, and possibly of the whole ten years of existence of this organization.

ABBETT PULLIAM, *Director*

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Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee.—The bureau is committed to the program of simplifying local government by transferring one service after another to the county government. Fortunately, the county is practically coterminous with the Milwaukee metropolitan district.

Since January 1, 1937, the county park commission has taken charge of the operation and maintenance of all public parks within the county with the exception of eleven acres still owned by a village. Seven towns, cities, and villages have donated their park lands, debt free, to the county. The main donor was, of course, the city of Milwaukee.

The original survey pointing out the need of a unified park system in Milwaukee County was made by the Citizens' Bureau in 1932. The bureau actively urged the favorable approval of the park transfer voted upon in the city of Milwaukee at a referendum held April 1936. A member of the staff served on a committee of nine supervisors, aldermen, and citizens appointed to carry out the many details involved in the actual transfer.

The Citizens' Bureau claims a large share of credit for this consolidation and believes that the park system will be administered by one master plan to the benefit of the entire community.

One of the benefits resulting from the park merger is the unification of police administration in the city of Milwaukee. The city park board had maintained its own police system. The common council was prevailed upon to merge the two police forces.

A permanent contribution to the political,

social, and economic knowledge of this community was made in the publication of *Metropolitan Milwaukee, One Trade Area Burdened with Ninety-three Local Governments*. The booklet was prepared on behalf of the joint committee on consolidation by the Citizens' Bureau with the assistance of WPA employees. It was published as part of the proceedings of the county board.

The Citizens' Bureau is endeavoring to promote the unification of hospital administration by transferring the city's isolation hospital to the county. The county government now administers 95 per cent of the public hospital facilities within Milwaukee County.

A study of voting machines for the city of Milwaukee has been completed. The information will be given to a special common council committee which was appointed in June 1937.

A comprehensive survey of all the relief programs operating in Wisconsin and in Milwaukee County for the six-year period of 1931 to 1936 inclusive was prepared in pamphlet form. This is the first composite picture of the outdoor relief, work relief, and institutional care provided by the local, state, and federal governments ever compiled for this area.

At the request of the county clerk, the Citizens' Bureau prepared the first annual report published by the county board. The accomplishments and work of the county government will henceforth be published each year for the information of the public.

At the request of the chairman of the finance committee of the common council, the Citizens' Bureau compiled a book giving all budget items for the years 1925 to 1936 inclusive. Copies were distributed to the members of the finance committee enabling a comparison by years for all budget items in the preparation of the 1937 budget.

The Citizens' Bureau was instrumental in securing a county appropriation of \$120,000 for 1936, and \$230,000 for 1937, to maintain Milwaukee streets. For many years the county board has confined the expenditures of state aid for highways to improvements in the towns of Milwaukee County, although the Wisconsin law permits the use of state aid on highways located in cities and villages as well.

Fourteen bulletins on current public prob-

lems were mailed to the subscribers of the Citizens' Bureau, and released to the newspapers. Five of these reports were in the form of letters addressed to the Milwaukee members of the 1937 Wisconsin legislature, presenting the fiscal problems of Milwaukee County as to debt, property taxes, contributions to state revenues, and receipts of state aid. The Citizens' Bureau activities were the subject of fourteen newspaper editorials.

The cooperative efforts of many public officials and civic groups made the foregoing community progress possible.

JOHN DAVIS, *Director*

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The Institute of Local Government of the Pennsylvania State College.—The Institute of Local Government of the Pennsylvania State College, established by the president and the board of trustees in July 1936, is set up with three main objectives. First, it is to develop a curriculum for majors in the public service. In doing this it is to integrate the abilities and facilities of a number of departments and schools on the campus that have an interest in the field of Pennsylvania local government. It also aims to bring the student who desires to enter the public service a number of contacts with persons engaged in practical municipal administration throughout the commonwealth. This is to be done by means of lecturers from the outside and by field trips.

Another aim of the institute is to be of service to municipal officials throughout the commonwealth in developing a program of in-service training. A third objective is the gradual development of a program of research in municipal affairs of Pennsylvania.

During the past academic year a curriculum for public service majors was established. In November a meeting of municipal finance officers of Pennsylvania was held under the auspices of the institute and one hundred and twenty-eight attended. This spring a two-weeks' traffic officers' training school was held with fifty-three officers in attendance. The latter was in conjunction with the safety division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and other national and state agencies interested in traffic safety. Plans for a program of research will be developed shortly.

A unique and important feature of the

Institute of Local Government is the advisory committee, made up of members of the college residence and extension faculties who are directly concerned with certain phases of local government. There are representatives on this committee from the departments of political science, economics, architecture, landscape architecture, civil engineering, education, mineral industries, agricultural economics, and the extension services.

H. F. ALDERFER, *Executive Secretary*

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Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans.—The situation in New Orleans is quite different from that found in several other cities where bureaus of governmental research have been in existence for a long time. Here in New Orleans, with a relatively new bureau, we find much to be done in the field of budgeting, purchasing, personnel, assessment procedures, police and fire organization, etc. In answer to this crying need the bureau has prepared and submitted to the proper authorities memoranda outlining modern methods in the following subjects: preparation of a long-term capital improvement program, budget procedure, centralized purchasing, operation of a storeroom, relocation of police stations and a central jail, and tax calendar. In addition there is in progress similar memoranda on assessment procedures and the relocation of fire stations.

The biggest study now under way is the one dealing with real property assessments. This project is divided into three parts the first of which has been completed. They are: (1) the assessment of land, (2) the assessment of buildings, and (3) the administrative organization of the assessing office. The procedure in making this study is first to discover whether or not assessments are uniform. The bureau felt that it would be in a tactless position should it complain about an antiquated assessment procedure without at the same time having sufficient evidence to show that non-uniform assessments resulted. It is a relatively simple matter to prescribe the remedy, but a much more difficult matter to convince the officials that a remedy is needed. Thus, the major part of our report is a comparative analysis of assessments reduced to a unit basis by standard formulas.

About 1,050 parcels of property have been sampled in order to get a cross-section of

assessments in the city. Field trips have been made with the assessors to see exactly how they arrived at their values. Although our report is incomplete, yet the coöperation of the assessors leads us to believe that methods of assessing used in other cities may be sufficiently attractive as eventually to have them installed in New Orleans.

After Mayor Maestri adopted a centralized purchasing ordinance drafted by the bureau, it aided him in locating and establishing a storeroom to be operated by the purchasing agent. A simple procedure was worked out showing the necessary records to control the supplies and to charge the proper departments for withdrawals from the storeroom.

The new tax calendar is, perhaps, the largest accomplishment of the bureau. Now, tax anticipation loans are no longer needed as taxes are collected on time and when needed. Upwards of \$400,000 annually in interest will be saved.

The executive secretary, Harold A. Stone, has resigned to accept a position on the staff of the Social Science Research Council. He was the bureau's first executive secretary, having been with the organization since its start in May 1933. Sherman S. Sheppard has been selected as his successor. Mr. Sheppard has been assistant director of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Thus, the work of the New Orleans bureau will continue uninterruptedly in the hands of one professionally engaged and trained in public administration.

HAROLD A. STONE, *Executive Secretary*

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Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance.—"We will never have good government until the people take an active interest in government affairs," might be listed as a motto of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, for it is toward this end that the alliance has been directing its activities for the past five years.

This policy was reviewed this spring by the board of directors who voted to continue the organization as a purely fact-finding, non-political, research, educational body for another five-year period. The more popular work of the alliance maintains the following formula:

The research staff has under way continually a number of research projects relating to some phase of government and taxation. As these

are completed, or as some phase of a project is completed, it is condensed and published in the *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, the official publication which is issued every two weeks.

These studies are edited for popular reading and presented with illustrative charts and pictures. Each issue also contains statistical tables and often a technical discussion for the more profound readers. Recently published studies are those pointing out that two out of every five dollars in property taxes fall upon residential real estate, an analysis of the delinquent tax situation in various counties, and a study of the school debt situation in eighty-seven cities showing that these cities have reduced their debt for school purposes by 33 per cent since 1931.

The relief question continues to be a major problem in Wisconsin government. A study by, the alliance in May showed that relief costs in 1936 were the highest in the history of the state and that, although manufacturing employment had increased 46 per cent since the trough of the depression, the number of relief cases had increased 50 per cent in the same period and relief costs had risen 266 per cent.

Since the legislature was in session this year, much of the work of the alliance consisted in analysis of the various bills, including the state budget bill, which were before the legislature. As has been its policy during each legislative session, the alliance published each week a summary of all bills which were to be heard before legislative committees during the following week. The schedule of alliance publications for the remainder of the year includes a summary of 1937 legislation, a revision of a book called "Taxes" which lists all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin. This revision will include all changes made in tax laws by the 1937 session of the Wisconsin legislature and of the United States Congress. A third publication to be issued some time this fall or winter will be a popular book outlining major government and tax problems in Wisconsin.

A large amount of the time of the research staff is devoted to answering individual requests for information and help. These are largely technical in character and many individual taxpayers and a large number of public officials have sought the expert assistance of the alliance staff in solving their

problems. It is the policy of the alliance not to attack public officials but to cooperate with members of the town, village, and county boards, city councils, and members of the state legislature in aiding them to help solve government problems. The alliance has found that most public officials are eager to cooperate with a fact-finding organization which attempts to get taxpayers to realize that no government has anything to give away.

PAUL REYNOLDS, *Director*

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Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Taxpayers Association.—The association has just issued, in bulletin form, the results of an exhaustive study of the city's bonded debt and financial set-up.

The association presents a chart which

shows principal and interest payments due on the city's debt until maturity of the final bond in 1978 and also shows sinking fund installments due until maturity of this phase of the debt in 1947. Another chart shows the set-up of debt at the present time, giving details of the time of loan, interest rate of each issue, sinking fund credits, and net debt.

In showing that Woonsocket will have cut its bonded debt by approximately \$3,215,000.00, or 37 per cent, by the end of the present year, the association points out the benefits of a "pay-as-you-go" policy and shows how a continuance of this policy will result in added dividends in the years to come.

The bulletin points out that seven issues have been retired since 1931, there now being thirty-one bonds on the city schedule.

MILTON CHAPIN, *Director*

LETTERS FROM MEN IN ACTION

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voting for a government that is interested in them. Maybe some did cry when Tony was defeated, but they voted for Roosevelt just the same. I have said before that "human nature is a constant, and people generally will act in accord with what they believe to be their interest."¹ The problem is, will the people come to feel that the New Deal "service to individuals" type of government is no longer needed or is costing more than it is worth; can the Republican party provide a program that will more adequately than the Democratic program meet the needs of the people? And do the Republicans have the actor who can present their program as most compelling theatre? It is obvious that the limit of attention is the limit of democracy, and therefore this more compelling program of the Republicans must be presented in so vivid and meaningful a manner that it will capture the favorable attention of His Majesty, the Sovereign Voter.

¹J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics*, p. 253 (New York, 1935).

EDITORIAL

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representatives of one state demand patronage, staff appointments will have to be divided between the political machines of four states. The thirty thousand dollars would disappear like nickels in a slot machine!

Fortunately, New York State and New Jersey have long been committed to the merit system in the selection of employees; indeed, they probably lead the country in the satisfactory administration of state civil service. It is of the utmost importance that this policy be extended to a vital interstate agency such as "Incode."

We are perhaps witnessing the launching of what may come to be a new level of government and administration. The evils of our present governmental agencies may all be summed up in one phrase, "the spoils system." In the interstate field, we are starting from scratch. Let merit be the foundation of the new system. The horse has not yet been stolen.



RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

TAXATION

Exemption of Homesteads from Taxation. By J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt with the coöperation of the National Youth Administration. Detroit, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. (Report No. 144), 1937. 34 pp.

This study is a presentation of the results of homestead exemption laws as applied in the various states which have enacted them, together with a discussion of the possible effects of such a law on the state of Michigan. The pamphlet contains a short bibliography of material on which the study was based and a table summarizing existing homestead exemption laws.

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The Gasoline Tax in the United States, 1936. By Finla G. Crawford. Chicago, Public Administration Service (Pamphlet No. 54), 1937. 50 pp. Fifty cents.

This pamphlet is the fifth edition of Professor Crawford's monograph on the gasoline tax. It contains some new statistical data and brings up to date information contained in previous editions.

*

Ohio's Classification Tax Law. By John A. Zangerle and Walter L. Bethel. Cleveland, 1937. 23 pp. (Apply to authors.)

A study of the difficulties of joint state and local administration of the Ohio classification tax law by the auditor and deputy respectively of Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

*

State Tax Legislation in 1937. By Mabel L. Walker. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1937. 15 pp. Twenty-five cents.

A survey of the legislation enacted by the

forty-three state legislatures meeting in 1937, arranged according to the types of tax involved.

*

Survey of Exemption of State Instrumentalities from Federal Taxation (from *McCulloch v. Maryland* to *Brush v. Helvering*). By David Hottenstein. Washington, D. C., Institute of Municipal Law Officers (Report No. 20), 1937. 9 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

*

Collection of Taxes in New York State Cities. By Edward D. Meacham. Albany, New York, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, Bureau of Training and Research (Publication No. 37), 1937. 85 pp. mimeo.

*

Public School Tax Management in Texas. By Eugene G. Wilkins. New York City, Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937. 107 pp. \$1.60.

*

Assessment Principles and Terminology. By National Association of Assessing Officers. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1937. 174 pp. \$2.00. (Also separately printed in paper covers as **Assessment Principles**, 102 pp., seventy-five cents, and **Assessment Terminology**, 42 pp., fifty cents.)

*

The Taxpayers' Analysis of Semi-Annual Yields of Those Revenues Administered by the Department of Finance and Taxation of the State of Tennessee. By Tennessee Taxpayers Association (Research Report No. 28). Nashville, 1937. 27 pp. mimeo.

This study presents a comparison of ten revenues, analyzed by counties, for the last six months of 1936—after installation of an efficient accounting system which established a control over assessments, collections, refunds, and delinquencies for each class of state revenues—with those of the same period in 1935.

*

FINANCE

Borrowing for Highways. By Edna Trull. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1937. 103 pp. Two dollars.

This study of highway finance covers the entire period of highway construction in this country from the chartering of the first turnpike company—to operate the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike—and the beginnings of state borrowing for highways down to the present time when the money borrowed for such purposes represents nearly half the total debt of the several states. It is the first really adequate treatment of state highway finances to appear and as such represents a splendid contribution to the field.

The study is well illustrated with charts and statistical tables.

*

State of Tennessee, Reorganizing the Debt Structure. By Norman S. Taber & Company, New York, 1937. 64 pp. Fifty cents.

*

Controlling Local Indebtedness. A report of the Committee on State and Local Taxation and Expenditures. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1937. 24 pp.

*

City of New York, Financial Study. By Lazard Frères & Company. New York, 1937. 62 pp.

*

Bonded Indebtedness, City of St. Louis. By Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, 1937. 14 pp. mimeo.

*

Financial Statistics of New Hampshire Counties, Cities, and Towns. By Mansfield & Company. Hartford, Connecticut, 1937. 13 pp. mimeo.

*

Cost of Local Government in Oklahoma for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1936

(with comparisons to previous years). By Division of Research and Statistics, Oklahoma Tax Commission. Oklahoma City, Okla., 1937. 114 pp. mimeo.

*

The Financing of New Haven's Permanent Improvements. By New Haven Taxpayers, Inc. (Report No. 16). New Haven, Connecticut, 1937. 12 pp. mimeo.

*

CIVIL SERVICE

A Merit System for Pennsylvania. Report submitted to Governor George H. Earle by Pennsylvania Federation for the Merit System, second edition. Philadelphia, 1937. 117 pp.

The Pennsylvania Federation for the Merit System is composed of a large group of statewide organizations interested in better government. Its report to the governor, submitted at his request, includes a discussion of the present civil service system in Pennsylvania and in a number of other states as well as recommendation of specific provisions for a sound merit system for Pennsylvania.

*

Government Careers for College Graduates. By Leonard D. White. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada (Pamphlet No. 8), 1937. 22 pp. Twenty-five cents.

The story of the experiment of the United States Civil Service Commission in the recruitment of non-specialized liberal arts college and university graduates for the classified civil service of the federal government.

*

Civil Service Testing for Social Work Positions. By Lewis Meriam. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada (Pamphlet No. 9), 1937. 7 pp. Twenty-five cents.

In this pamphlet the author stresses the need for oral interviews and the importance of properly evaluating training and experience in the testing of social workers for administrative and technical positions with public welfare agencies.

*

Training for the Public Service: A Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Culver. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration,

University of California, 1937. 52 pp. Twenty-five cents.

HOUSING

Housing Officials' Yearbook 1937. By National Association of Housing Officials. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1937. 213 pp. \$3.00.

This book should prove a valuable reference source to those interested in the problem of housing. It contains numerous articles by well known authorities in the housing field and also includes a glossary of housing terms, a bibliography on housing, and a directory of housing agencies.

Studies of Community Planning in Terms of the Span of Life. By Catharine F. Lansing. New York, New York City Housing Authority, 1937. 43 pp.

The problem of housing stated in terms of the human life span with suggested solutions. The pamphlet is well illustrated by numerous graphs and tables.

Comprehensive Housing Legislation Chart. Prepared by the Subcommittee on Law and Legislation of the Central Housing Committee, with the assistance of the Bureau of Standards and the National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., National Emergency Council, 1937. 20 pp.

TOLEDO FORGES AHEAD

(Continued from Page 427)

who has long been an active figure in local politics. Associated with her is a brilliant array of former office-holders who insist loudly they are not "seeking a return to political favor" but are interested solely in good government as represented by the ward plan of electing councilmen. The only other name prominent in the picture is that of the mysterious Mr. William E. Cahill, former Ku Klux leader in Toledo.

One of the queer quirks in the new proposal which defies analysis is the popular election of the director of the law department and the fixing of his

A summary of the status of legislation affecting public and private housing as of March 1, 1937, arranged by states and subjects in columnar style.

Must We Have Slums? Edited by Charles Yale Harrison. New York, New York City Housing Authority, 1937.

Reprinted from a series of articles on housing by Paul Sann and Malcolm Logan which recently appeared in the *New York Post*.

LIBRARIES

The Library Trustee. By Anna Gertrude Hall. Chicago, American Library Association, 1937. 193 pp. \$2.35.

Members of library boards will find this discussion of great assistance in meeting the many problems which beset them. Chapters are devoted to the library board, its powers, operation of the library, the library's money, its staff, and the trustee. Appendices include suggested readings for trustees, by-laws for library boards, standards for public libraries, etc.

The State Library Agency, Its Functions and Organization (second edition). Statement by the American Library Association Library Extension Board. Chicago, American Library Association, 1937. 34 pp. mimeo. Thirty-five cents.

salary by charter. Under the proposal he would be the only elective officer other than the members of the twenty-one-man council. Many have been the speculations concerning who is being groomed for this post.

In any event, although those behind the proposal maintain they are not driving for the abandonment of the manager plan, it is quite clear, from general experience with ward politics, that the amendment, if adopted, would mean the emasculation of the manager plan in Toledo. It is only fair to say that the problem of representation in Toledo has been causing some comment due to the failure of the Polish element in the population to elect one of their

number under P. R. It was a fluke that they didn't for they lost a place by a handful of votes.

It is to be hoped that Toledoans understand the situation well enough to vote down the proposed amendment.

There are many reasons why the proposal is unsound. So that he who runs may read, let us conclude by listing a few of them:

1. Since apparently the only genuine complaint against the present charter in Toledo is that based upon inadequate representation of a large minority group in the population, the abandonment of election at large by proportional representation would mean the abandonment of the only form of election which guarantees groups representation in direct proportion to their voting strength.

2. Return to the old ward system would mean a return to a system which has been thoroughly discredited by American municipal experience. Over a period of time, it is impossible under the old ward system to prevent:

- a. Log rolling between ward representatives;
- b. The development of a petty point of view in the council which prevents careful consideration of public policy from the standpoint of the city as a whole;
- c. A continuous and frequently unjustifiable increase in the cost of government because of the ambition of each ward representative to "get something" for his own ward;
- d. Complete domination of the city council by any political party which can control a majority of the wards, regardless of whether this means a majority of the votes in the city as a whole;
- e. Political interference with competent administration because of the introduction into the city govern-

ment of the evil spirit of spoils politics.

3. The popular election of administrative officers has proved itself to be unsound. Authorities on political science are in complete agreement on this point. There are many reasons for this, the most obvious one being that the public has no way of passing upon the technical competence of men for posts where a high degree of training and experience is required. Such a post is that of the director of the law department. It should clearly remain an appointive office. A change here does violence to the whole spirit of council-manager government.

4. One of the proposed amendments is novel—and also vicious. It provides that when an employee is dismissed and later reinstated by the courts, the salary of the dismissed employee during the interim *shall be paid by the officer who dismissed him*. The certain effect of this provision will readily be appreciated: responsible officers of the government will be impelled to weigh the necessity of personnel changes against their own liability under the charter. The amendment must necessarily force Toledo's public service to a lower and lower level of efficiency.

5. Another of the proposals would require a *monthly rating* of the efficiency of all classified employees. This is wholly impractical. It simply can't be done without confusion and resentment by employees. To attempt it is to defeat the sound advantages of a rating system.

6. Finally, the present charter of Toledo represents the best form of municipal government that has so far been devised. The voters of Toledo are being asked to abandon this form by a politically-minded group after a year and a half of the most economical and efficient administration Toledo has ever had.